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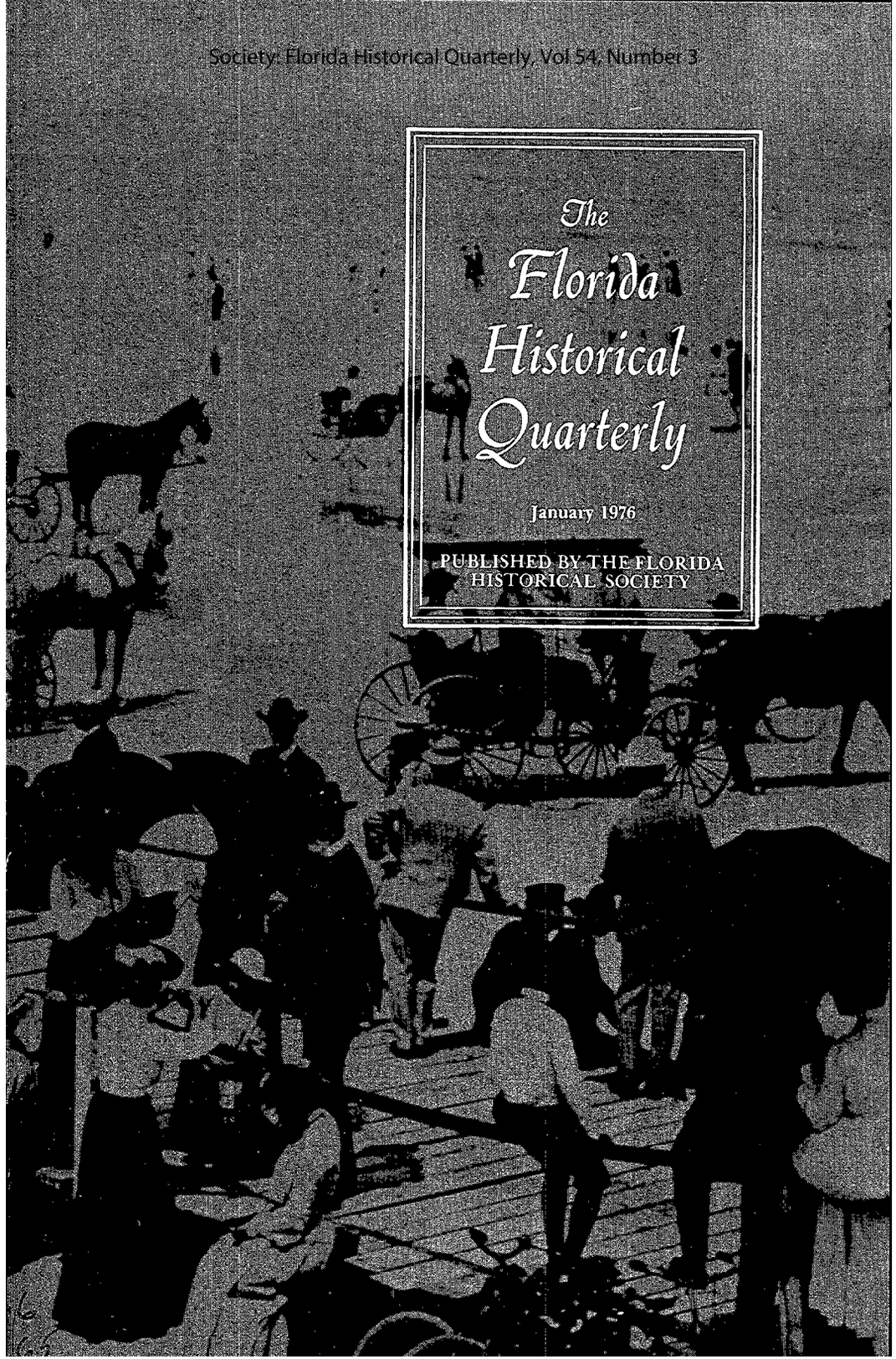

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COVER

Florida's east coast beaches had become famous by the beginning of the twentieth century for swimming and sunning. Daytona Beach was a favorite resort for wealthy northerners, particularly after Henry Flagler purchased a large hotel at nearby Ormond.

Because of the hard-packed sand the beach was also used for automobile races, and the first world's record was broken on the beach in 1903. This scene of Daytona Beach in 1904 is from a photograph in *Pictorial History of Florida* by Richard J. Bowe.

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BOOK REVIEWS

POPULATION STRUCTURE IN HISPANIC ST. AUGUSTINE, 1629-1763

by THEODORE G. CORBETT*

RECENT STUDY OF population in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century American and European communities is providing new insights into the nature of their social existence. Such studies depend not only upon the traditional census, but utilize a variety of sources, including parish registers, tax and tribute rolls, musters, and genealogical material.[1] The use of these sources for the counting of individuals and the arrangement of aggregate figures into tables may seem to produce a rigidly scientific and arid form of history, but in reality these figures do much to explain the everyday life experience of a past community. There is no better way, for instance, of substantiating the influence of events like the joyous celebration of marriage, or the sobering reality of starvation or plague.

Hispanic St. Augustine provides considerable documentation for a study which utilizes the techniques of historical demography. Such an approach allows one to view the history of St. Augustine over a long-term period, from 1629 to 1763, tracing growth, contraction, and stability of existence within the community.

Historians owe a debt to the curates of the St. Augustine parish church, who faithfully listed the number of baptisms, marriages, burials, and occasionally confirmations. Since the middle of the sixteenth century, as ordered by the Council of Trent, it had been the duty of all parish curates in Catholic countries to fulfill this task. Sometimes curates went beyond this

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1. Among many studies of historical demography, the work of Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1971-1974) depends upon tribute and tax lists, while the work of Irene W. D. Hecht, "The Virginia Muster of 1624/5 As a Source for Demographic History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, XXX (January 1973), 65-92, utilizes a muster, and that of Louis Henry and Étienne Gautier, *La population de Crulai, paroisse Normande* (Paris, 1958), is the classic study of Catholic parish registers.

routine job, and one of St. Augustine's curates, Juan de Solana, made a complete report on conditions in Florida, including a population census. Visitations by important clerics from Cuba also added to population materials. In 1689 the Bishop of Cuba and in 1736 Francisco de San Buenaventura y Tejada, auxiliary bishop of Cuba, had population censuses made for Florida, including St. Augustine.[2] The Spanish officials prepared another set of lists during the evacuation of the colony in 1763-1764, when the colony passed into British hands, largely consisting of St. Augustine's inhabitants. Beyond these four censuses, there exists only rough estimates of the population of St. Augustine.

Clearly with such sources, it is only possible to approximate St. Augustine's population, and occasionally it is necessary to interpolate population figures. In fact, contrary to the apparent scientific validity of tables and figures contained in this study, techniques of historical demography produce results which are no more infallible than those of other historical methodologies.[3] Yet, this should not detract from the value of such estimates; the techniques do provide useful estimates of vital functions, without which the living experience of the community would be lost.

Account of the marriages, baptisms, and burials in the St. Augustine parish registers is the major source for the demographic study of this community, against which the few censuses and estimates serve as checks.[4] But there are some fundamental problems involved in handling the parish registers. For one, the curates had no interest in the later pursuits of historical demog-

2. San Buenaventura has been referred to as "Bishop of Trical." Trical probably was his nominative see from ancient times. Such titles were often used in designating auxiliaries. See Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida. 1513-1870* (Gainesville, 1965), 79-80.

3. For the use and limits of historical demography, see Louis Henry, "Historical demography," J. A. Banks, "Historical sociology and the study of population," and T. H. Hollingsworth, "The importance of the quality of the data in historical demography," in D. V. Glass and Roger Revelle, eds., *Population and Social Change* (New York, 1972), 43-86; D. E. C. Eversley, "Population, Economy and Society," and Louis Chevalier, "Towards a History of Population," in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, eds., *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography* (Chicago, 1965), 23-78.

4. This article has been based upon the use of photostatic copies of the Cathedral Records, St. Augustine Parish, in the St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida. A short description of the St. Augustine Parish Registers is provided in Michael V. Gannon, "Mission of Nombre de Dios Library," *Catholic Historical Review*, LI (October 1965), 374-75.

raphers, and consequently kept their records in accord with a different set of values. Since marriages constituted festive occasions, it is plausible that nearly all of St. Augustine's marriages came to be recorded. But burials did not always reflect the number of deaths. In years of catastrophic death the curate could not keep up with the number of burials, and it appears, in the case of St. Augustine, that he gave precedence to adults and often did not record the internment of children. Furthermore, in Hispanic communities, religious institutions other than the parish church, like religious orders and hospitals, often provided the last rites of the Church.[5] St. Augustine's Franciscan community may have occasionally done this. Thus, the number of deaths generally exceeded the number of burials.

The case of the baptismal records is even more complex. Many adults received baptism in St. Augustine, particularly blacks who had escaped from Carolina. Consequently, to gain an accurate figure for births, baptisms of individuals over six months of age must be subtracted, since it is unlikely they had been born in St. Augustine. Because St. Augustine was rarely visited by bishops or had resident auxiliary bishops from Cuba for only brief periods, the confirmation lists are too few to be of much demographic value.[6] Assuredly, parish registers are to be used with discretion in order to obtain the most accurate and worthwhile data.

Another problem with the registers concerns the consistency of information they provide. There are gaps within the records which make it impossible to study certain time periods. Marriages and baptisms have been recorded since 1594, though in such limited numbers that the sample derived from them appears useful only after 1629. There remains a gap in the marriage records between 1756 and 1763 because records exist only for *pardos* and *morenos*, inhabitants with Negro blood or of African descent. Burial records are sparse, covering only the years 1629-1638 and 1719-1763. Such intervals are a major obstacle to the complete reconstruction of St. Augustine's population history.

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5. In seventeenth-century Spain, Madrid's parish of San Ginés had religious communities and hospitals with their own burial registers. See Claude Larquié, "Etude de démographie madrilène: la paroisse de San Ginés de 1650 a 1700," *Melanges de Casa de Velázqua*, 2 (1966), 247.
6. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 49-83.

It is necessary to understand the type of population pattern of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century communities. In St. Augustine's case, such a perspective is important because it has been asserted that it was a self-contained community, with little movement of inward or outward migration, left in an isolated state to develop upon its own.[7] It is, of course, dangerous to use such models of population structure because most communities evolved in stages moving from one pattern to the next. Still, two patterns of population development are useful in dealing with the above assertion. One of these is the so-called self-contained community, readily found in colonial America, particularly among New England towns. Here a secure and healthful environment allowed communities to grow, even though, after their initial settlement, they closed themselves to further migration. Such communities came to be characterized by marriages at an early age, a low rate of mortality, particularly among children, and a high number of births per marriage. To apply the term self-contained to such communities does not imply that they became totally closed; in fact, population growth forced later generations to emigrate. Still, this emigration remained a minor factor in the overall population level, and the community exhibited a characteristic ability to handle its population problems on its own.[8]

There is an alternative population pattern, the dependent community, more typical of early modern England, Spain, and France. There conditions seem to have been harsher because of catastrophic cycles of plague, famine, and war, which could sometimes eliminate as much as ten per cent of the population. Such a community usually exhibited patterns of late marriage, a high mortality rate, and a low number of births per marriage. In terms of natural increase, these communities should have suffered a population decline, but most did not because of immigration which proved able to fill the gap caused by late marriage and high mortality. Even in small English villages, the turnover of families from generation to generation reached surprisingly high

7. Kathleen A. Deagan, "*Mestizaje* in Colonial St. Augustine," *Ethnohistoy,* XX (Winter 1973), 59; "Sex, Status and Role in the *Mestizaje* of Spanish Colonial Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1974), 17.
8. The self-contained community is described by Kenneth A. Lockridge, "The Population of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736," *Economic Histoy Review,* Second Series, XIX (August 1966), 320, 323-24, 343-44.

levels, reflecting a mobility between communities in search of employment.[9] Thus, one pattern of population emphasized the independence of the community in controlling its population development. The other relied upon the integration of newcomers, so that population level often depended upon constant inward migration. These two patterns are important to an historical examination of St. Augustine's population.

Evidence of the total population of St. Augustine is sketchy. A variety of censuses and estimates exist, confusing not so much for inaccuracy as for their different means of computation. In the first half of the seventeenth century, St. Augustine's census is usually estimated from the number of plazas (places or positions) in the garrison at between 300 and 500 inhabitants. But *plazas* accounted for only the soldiers of the Castillo de San Marcos and a few widows and orphans who received a portion of the subsidy.

In 1675, Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, authorized a census which claimed a population of about 300.[10] Ten years later, though, records indicate that 1,400 people sought refuge in the Castillo.[11] No doubt refugee Indians from the villages around St. Augustine had increased the town's population. The number of people who crowded into the Castillo during Governor James Moore's attack of 1702 also may have been as great as 1,500.[12] A census of 1689, issued by the Bishop of Cuba after the inspection of Father Juan Ferro Machado, listed the population of the town at 1,444.[13] Thus, St. Augustine's popula-

9. *Ibid.*, 324, 326, 329-30, 334; Peter Laslett and John Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," H. E. Bell and R. L. Ollard, eds., *Historical Essays, 1600-1750, Presented to David Ogg* (London, 1963), 174-81; Pierre Goubert, "Historical Demography and the Reinterpretation of Early Modern French History: A Research Review," in Theodore Rabb and Robert Rotberg, eds., *The Family in History* (New York, 1971), 21, 25.
10. Lucy L. Wenhold, transl. and ed., *A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida,* Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 95, No. 16 (Washington, 1936), 7.
11. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, *estante* 58, *cajón* 2, *legajo* 6/3, *número* 3, April 28, 1685, photostat in Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Archivo General photostats and transcripts hereinafter will be cited as AGI, followed by location and document numbers; Stetson Collection documents will be cited as ST.
12. AGI 58-2-8/243, November 5, 1702, ST.
13. AGI 54-3-2/9, September 28, 1689, ST.

tion probably ranged from 1,400 to 1,500 during the years 1685 to 1702.

In 1736, Bishop San Buenaventura y Tejada listed 1,409 inhabitants.[14] Thirteen years later, Solana's exhaustive report counted 2,446 inhabitants, a doubling of the population.[15] For 1763, there are several lists of evacuation figures ranging from 2,996 to 3,104. The smaller number is more likely St. Augustine's population since the evacuation included inhabitants of the suburbs.[16]

St. Augustine should consequently be considered a growing town, though not a city or metropolis, even by eighteenth-century standards. In 1763, St. Augustine could not be compared with larger American cities like Mexico City with its nearly 100,000 inhabitants, or Lima, Havana, and Puebla each with some 50,000 or Philadelphia and New York with 20,000-30,000.[17] Yet St. Augustine was larger than Williamsburg, Virginia's capital, or any other town in the southern colonies, save Charleston.[18]

It should not be assumed from the evidence of the censuses and estimates that St. Augustine's population grew progressively larger. Taking the parish registers and projecting the number of estimated births, estimated deaths, and marriages upon Figure 1, it is evident that these vital functions could fluctuate widely. For instance, deaths followed a pattern of peaks and depressions, reflecting the devastating effect of plague, famine, and war. Births increased, although in the period 1693-1714 there was a change in this pattern. It may be a so-called "echo" reflecting an earlier period of high deaths and delayed marriages, most likely from 1661 to 1672, but there is also the possible effect of devastation

14. AGI 58-2-14/l22, April 29, 1736, ST.
15. AGI 86-7-21/41, April 19, 1760, ST.
16. AGI 86-6-6/43, April 16, 1764, ST; AGI 87-1-5/3-4, January 22, 1764, September 26, 1766, January 27, 1770, ST. For studies of the evacuation, see Robert L. Gold, "The Settlement of the East Florida Spaniards in Cuba, 1763-1766," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLII (January 1964), 216-20; Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida, 1763-1764," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (October 1940), 145-50.
17. Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *The Population of Latin America: A History*, transl. W. A. R. Richardson (Berkeley, 1974), 81, 99-100, 127-28; Stella H. Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America* (New York, 1936), 69, 95, 167.
18. Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America*, 251.

from war.[19] Lastly, though the number of marriages increased to record heights in the 1740s, there are figures as late as 1718 which approximate those of the 1630s. It is difficult to project from one year to the next the direction which the vital functions would take.

An idea of the long-term fertility of the families of St. Augustine can be gained by comparing the number of births per marriage. Taking the number of births for a decade and dividing them by the number of marriages for that time span which begins five years earlier, it is possible to arrive at an estimate of the average number of births per married couple. From Table 1 it is

TABLE 1
BIRTHS PER MARRIAGE, 1628-1762

Marriages		Births		
Years	Number	Years	Number	B/M
1628-1637	66	1633-1642	247	3.7
1638-1647	71	1643-1652	253	3.6
1648-1657	76	1653-1662	248	3.3
1658-1667	89	1663-1672	285	3.2
1668-1677	102	1673-1682	345	3.4
1678-1687	95	1683-1692	425	4.5
1688-1697	108	1693-1702	463	4.3
1698-1707	94	1703-1712	332	3.5
1708-1717	137	1713-1722	469	3.4
1718-1727	146	1723-1732	514	3.5
1728-1737	154	1733-1742	669	4.3
1738-1747	239	1743-1752	858	3.6
1748-1756[a]	167 (186[a])	1753-1762	1,044	5.6[a]

[a]The marriage records are not complete for 1757. The figure 186 was projected on the basis of the previous nine years. The B/M utilizes the figure 186.

evident that from 1633 to 1682 the number of births per marriage remained relatively constant between 3.2 and 3.7. From 1683 to 1702, however, there was a major increase in the number of births per marriage to between 4.3 and 4.5, produced from a rather constant number of marriages. After Moore's devastation of the town in 1702, as might be expected, the birth per marriage level fell to the previous earlier level of 3.4 to 3.5, a situation which continued until 1732. In St. Augustine's last years as a

19. On the "echo" in historical demography, see Lockridge, "Population of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736," 334.

Hispanic town the number of births per marriage rose again as high as 5.6 and 4.3, though not constantly; from 1738 to 1747 it was only 3.6. During most of this time, fertility remained low, in the pattern of a dependent community; but during three periods – 1683-1702, 1733-1742, and 1753-1762– it increased enough to approach the pattern of a self-contained community.

The trend of St. Augustine's fertility has a direct relationship to its economic and social conditions. Before 1683, fertility remained constantly low because of the precarious conditions of supply and employment within the presidio. This situation improved between 1683 and 1702 when construction of the Castillo de San Marcos guaranteed jobs, and an adequate food supply could be obtained from mission Indians and the development of ranching within the Florida interior.[20] This high fertility existed simultaneously with a low number of marriages, a situation which can be attributed to a decline in the number of males who migrated to St. Augustine, a state of affairs which the Crown recognized in 1691 by at least temporarily abandoning efforts to increase the number of *peninsulares* in the garrison.[21] Moore's attack in 1702 returned conditions to the level prior to 1683, and not until 1733-1742 and 1753-1762 did a high fertility rate reemerge. Even then, James Oglethorpe's siege of 1740 had much to do with the reduction of fertility from 1743 to 1752.

Another means of checking fertility in St. Augustine is to compute a crude birth rate based upon the years for which there is information on St. Augustine's population. A birth rate can be computed with varying degrees of accuracy for 1685, 1689, 1702, 1746, 1759, and 1762-1763.[22] Determining the number of births per 1,000 inhabitants for these years it is possible to come up respectively with the figures 30, 29, 28, 53, 54, and 45. Thus it can be projected that the birth rate per 1,000 inhabitants stood much

20. Charles W. Arnade, "Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida, 1513-1763," *Agricultural History*, XXXV (July 1961), 6-7; Albert C. Manucy, ed. and transl., *The History of Castillo de San Marcos & Fort Matanzas, From Contemporary Narratives and Letters* (Washington, 1943), 14-20; Robert Allen Matter, "Economic Basis of the Seventeenth-Century Florida Missions," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LII (July 1973), 18-38.
21. Luis R. Arana, "The Spanish Infantry: The Queen of Battles in Florida, 1671-1702" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1960), 87-89.
22. The double citation, 1762-1763, is used because the evacuation of St. Augustine began April 12, 1763, preventing complete information for the parish registers in 1763.

lower from 1685 to 1702 than it became in the period 1736 to 1762-1763. Since, however, the birth rates are only for single years, and the population figures are themselves suspect, one should not put too much stock in such birth rates, assuming from the evidence of Figure 1 that birth rates fluctuated widely from year to year. Besides, the low figures for 1685, 1689, and 1702 do not fit easily into the pattern of fertility previously established in the birth per marriage figures. The population estimates for these three years are likely to be too high.

The record of births in the parish registers also can be used to obtain another valuable insight into St. Augustine's population. Counting the number of births by sex, it is evident that, with the exception of the first generation, more females could be expected to be born than males. Such a phenomenon is measured by establishing a sex ratio, a figure calculated by dividing the number of males by the number of females and multiplying the quotient by 1,000. The overall figure obtained of 968.9 reflects the preponderance of female births. Table 2 shows that from 1702 to 1732 the figure fell even lower, to 926.1. Such a ratio in favor of females seems to justify a long-term growth trend in favor of women which would have made them the decided majority in St. Augustine's population.

TABLE 2
SEX RATIO AT BIRTH, 1629-1763

Years	Males	Females	Sex ratio
1629-1670	543	523	1034.2
1671-1701	632	643	982.8
1702-1732	652	704	926.1
1733-1763	1,296	1,351	959.2
1629-1763	3,123	3,223	968.9

On a comparative basis, it is certain that St. Augustine's birth rate was higher, for instance, than the 14-15 births per 1,000 presently known in the United States.[23] Previous assertions of a low birth rate for Hispanic St. Augustine cannot be justified.[24] Birth

23. In 1973, the United States had a birth rate of 14.9 per 1,000 inhabitants, and more recent estimates show that it has continued to decline.
24. Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702* (Gainesville, 1959), 9.

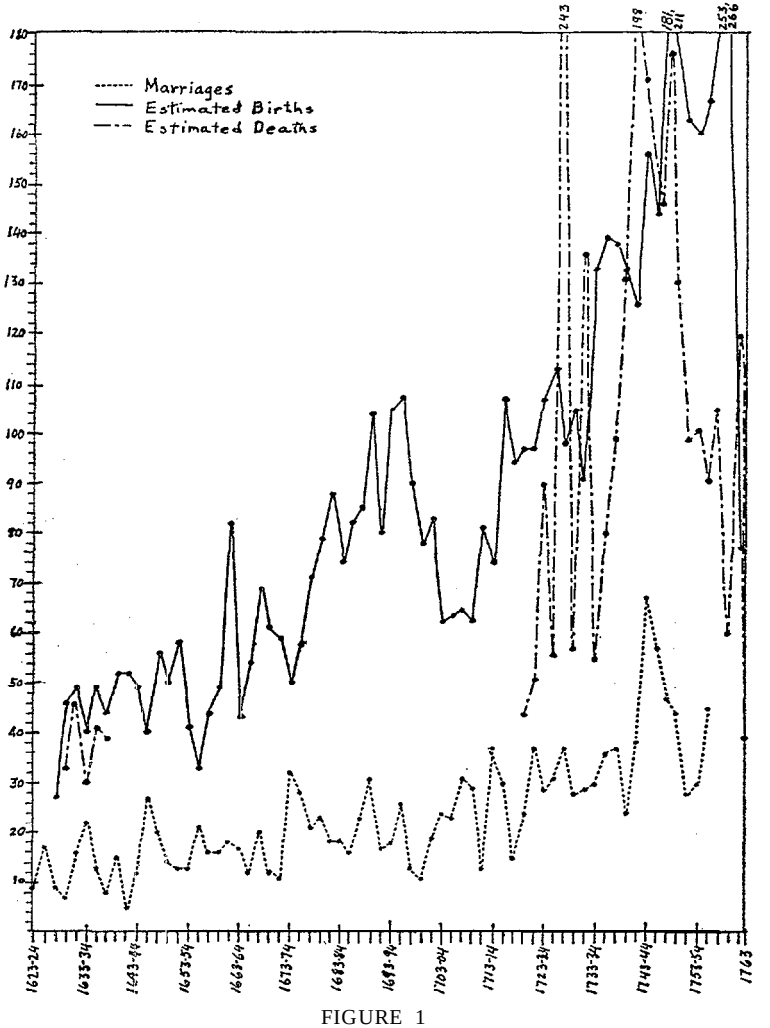

FIGURE 1

Baptisms, marriages and burials in St. Augustine, 1623-1763, by two-year intervals.

control was largely unknown in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Western societies, and contraception had been forbidden by the Catholic Church.[25] Actually, St. Augustine's birth rate

25. With the exception of France, birth control was not widely practiced in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. See Michel Riquet, "Christianity and Population," and E. A. Wrigley, "Family Limitation in Pre-

figures are not so high if compared with other contemporary communities. St. Augustine's fertility figures seem to have been similar to those of European communities, with the exception of the high birth rate figures of 53 and 54, attained in 1746 and 1759.

Fertility has been measured in several early modern European communities. By seventeenth-century standards, the Spanish birth rate must be judged low because hunger, small pox, yellow fever, and economic exhaustion had devastated Castile.[26] The birth rate ranged from 26 to 31 in the parish of San Ginés in Madrid, to 36 in Seville and Palencia, in general a birth rate which resulted in an overall population decline.[27] Such figures do not differ too much from those of St. Augustine in 1685, 1689, and 1702. Still, there is evidence of a higher birth rate in the 1640s in the Spanish countryside.[28]

In the eighteenth century the Spanish birth rate recovered, and the population began to increase. The birth rate for the census of 1768 stood at 44.[29] Yet only rarely did any place in Spain record figures as high as St. Augustine's 53 or 54. Elsewhere in Europe, fertility does not seem to have reached St. Augustine's high birth rate; the English towns of Clayworth and Cogenhoe report seventeenth-century birth rates of 37 and 31 respectively, while eighteenth-century Nottingham records rates of between 36 and 40.[30] In the French town of Crulai the eighteenth-century birth per marriage figure was 4, and the birth rate ranged from 36 to 40.[31] Overall, St. Augustine's fertility followed the Euro-

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Industrial England," in Orest and Patricia Ranum, eds., *Popular Attitudes toward Birth Control in Pre-Industrial France and England* (New York, 1972), 21-44, 53-99.

26. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1963), 63-99.
27. Larquié, "Etude de démographie madrilène," 243; Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII*, 64.
28. Jorge Nadal, *La población española (siglos XVI a XX)* (Barcelona, 1966), 42-45, 53-90; Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII*, 64-65.
29. Massimo Livi-Bacci, "Fertility and population growth in Spain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries," in Glass and Revelle, *Population and Social Change*, 174-76; Nadal, *La población española (siglos XVI a XX)*, 24-25, 91-118; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1955), 55-75.
30. Laslett and Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," 173, 176, 182; J. D. Chambers, "Population Change in a Provincial Town, Nottingham 1700-1800," in Glass and Eversley, *Population History*, 351.
31. Henry and Gautier, *La population de Crulai, paroisse Normande*, 57-59.

pean pattern of a dependent community, admittedly with some exceptions in the last years of the Hispanic period.

In contrasting St. Augustine's fertility with the figures for fertility in the French and British American colonies, St. Augustine's fertility tended to be lower. From 1711 to 1760, French Canada possessed a phenomenally high birth rate of between 6.1 and 7.5.[32] In the seventeenth century, New England towns had substantially higher fertility figures than St. Augustine, though in the eighteenth century there emerged a decline in New England's fertility, while the birth rate in St. Augustine rose to close the gap. In the seventeenth century, Andover, Massachusetts, attained a birth per marriage rate of between 5.3 and 5.8, while during the same period Dedham, Massachusetts, averaged between 4.1 and 5 births per marriage. In the eighteenth century, both Andover's and Dedham's birth rates fluctuated more and declined, respectively reaching marks of 48-35 and 52-30.[33] An analysis of several New England towns in the 1750s and 1760s shows a range in birth rates between 47 and 25, with an average of 34 for the Connecticut towns, and one of 39 for the Massachusetts towns.[34] Thus, the decline of fertility in many eighteenth-century New England towns, combined with the high number of births per marriage at the end of St. Augustine's Hispanic period, allowed St. Augustine to equal the New England towns in terms of fertility.

One cannot assume that St. Augustine's population grew in proportion to its birth rate, birth per marriage rate, or the number of births.[35] As in many pre-industrial societies, the number of deaths regularly offset and even surpassed the number of births, wiping out generations of population growth within a

32. Jacques Henripin and Yves Péron, "The demographic transition of the province of Quebec," in Glass and Revelle, *Population and Social Change*, 217-21.
33. Philip J. Greven, Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca, New York, 1970), 23-24, 184-85; Lockridge, "Population of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736," 329-32.
34. Robert Higgs and H. Louis Stettler, "Colonial New England Demography: A Sampling Approach," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXVII (April 1970), 288-89.
35. An effort to project St. Augustine's population from the counting of baptisms in the parish registers was made by John R. Dunkle, "Population Change As An Element In The Historical Geography of St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII (July 1958), 7-10.

few months. Although information on deaths does not cover all generations, Figure 1 indicates that deaths surpassed births in several years: 1632, 1636, 1637, 1723, 1727, 1732, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, and 1747. Deaths became particularly frequent in 1727, 1732, 1742, and 1747. On at least one occasion, 1744, the death figures were swelled by the arrival of a party of Swiss settlers who were shipwrecked and died of exposure.[36] These deaths created the high burial figures for 1744, and the year should be disregarded in computing the natural death rate. But, in the majority of cases, the high number of deaths resulted from conditions within St. Augustine.

Catastrophic numbers of deaths resulted from natural disasters like plague and famine, and from man-made devastation during war. Military action contributed to the excessive numbers of deaths in St. Augustine. The data included in Figure 1 reveals that the number of deaths in 1740, the year of Oglethorpe's siege, increased and was the basis for the high mortality rate for the period 1740-1745. Oglethorpe's siege did not affect all vital statistics; those for marriages and births remained relatively steady as compared to the previous period. Similarly, the plague of 1727 increased mortality to the highest point in the Hispanic period, even causing a reduction in the number of births.[37] There are no figures for deaths during other years of difficulty like the Davis (Searles) raid of 1668, the famine of 1697, and Moore's raid of 1702.[38] But the devastation of Governor Moore's attack did register in the figures for births and marriages. This invasion produced a definite decline in the number of births in 1703, along with a substantial rise in the number of marriages the same year. Apparently many marriages had been postponed during the time of the enemy occupation. In 1704, the number of marriages returned to a more normal rate. These significant changes in both the birth and marriage patterns imply that Moore's attack should be considered even more devastating to

36. A study of the inadvertent arrival of immigrants from the Swiss cantons of Bern, Zurich, Neuchatel, and Appenzell is being completed by Cynthia Corbett of Florida State University.
37. The plague of 1727 was an unidentified epidemic which began in the Indian suburbs and spread to St. Augustine. AGI 58-1-31/7, September 10, 1727, ST.
38. The starvation of 1697 developed because no *situado* had arrived in the previous seven years. See AGI 54-5-13/101, microfilm of the Spanish Records of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, roll 9-15.

St. Augustine than Oglethorpe's siege, but without the missing burial records this contention cannot be maintained with certainty.

By computing the percentage of deaths to births, it becomes possible to establish a periodic notion of the excess of deaths over births. Table 3 shows that from 1629 to 1638 there were four deaths for every five births in St. Augustine, a precarious balance in favor of births. In the third generation and throughout much of the fourth generation the number of deaths declined so that there were three for every five births. But the overall percentage remained only slightly lower because of catastrophic periods when deaths exceeded births from 1724 to 1728 and from 1739 to 1743. Beginning in 1754 and continuing until the evacuation, there was a notable fall in the percentage of deaths to births, so that in these years only one death for every three births came to be recorded.

For those years when there are population censuses and estimates are available, death rates can be computed. In 1736, 1759, and 1762-1763 the death rates were respectively 40, 13, and 29 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants. The death rate in 1759 and 1762-1763 was far less than in 1736, and so much lower in the case of the 1759 figure that it must be considered an extremely exceptional year. By dropping back a year and using the 1758 death figure with the 1759 census, one finds a much more reasonable death rate of 23 deaths per 1,000. Thus, St. Augustine suffered from a high death rate during most of the Hispanic period, only reducing its high mortality in its last years as a Spanish colony.

TABLE 3
PER CENT OF DEATHS TO BIRTHS, 1629-1763

Years	Births	Deaths	Per cent
1629-1633	118	97	82.2
1634-1638	120	93	77.5
1719-1723	234	163	69.7
1724-1728	278	321	115.5
1729-1733	277	219	79.1
1734-1738	329	208	63.2
1739-1743	328	399	121.6
1744-1748	445	421	86.6
1749-1753	430	294	68.4
1754-1758	439	232	52.8
1759-1763	596	218	36.6

In comparing St. Augustine's death rate with that of other communities, it is apparent that the extreme fluctuations in the number of deaths by year make it difficult to gain much perspective in comparison with towns and cities in Europe and colonial America. St. Augustine's own death rate ranged from 23 to 40 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants. In Spain, seventeenth-century Seville and regional Catalonia respectively recorded death rates of 30 and 36 per 1,000 inhabitants, while in 1700 Madrid's parish of San Ginés registered around 20-24.[39] But elsewhere in Europe the figures for the death rate are much higher: in seventeenth-century Clayworth, 41 deaths per 1,000; in eighteenth-century Nottingham, from 31-48 deaths per 1,000.[40]

It is generally agreed that the death rate in colonial America tended to be lower than in Europe. For example, the eighteenth-century French Canadian figures for deaths remained between 23 and 34.[41] New England's towns had exceptionally low death rates: Dedham's highest death rate figure being 27 per 1,000 inhabitants, while Andover's seventeenth-century per cent of deaths to births registered as low as 11.6 per cent. In fact, in only one year, 1738, did the number of deaths in Andover surpass the number of births.[42] Mortality remained higher in St. Augustine than in most New England villages, though probably a bit lower than in European communities, except in a few of the most catastrophic years.

Did certain segments of St. Augustine's population contribute to the high death rate out of proportion to their numbers? In many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century communities infant and child mortality swelled the annual number of deaths to high levels. Dividing children into two groups: those of five years of age or under, and those of fifteen years of age or under, will provide an idea of the extent to which these two groups of young people contributed to the high death rate in St. Augustine. Rough approximations of the numbers of these young people

39. Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII*, 65; Larquié, "Etude de démographie madrilène," 247.
40. Laslett and Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," 173, 176, 182; Chambers, "Population Change in a Provincial Town, Nottingham 1700-1800," 351
41. Henripin and Péron, "The demographic transition of the province of Quebec," 218-19, 221-22.
42. Greven, *Four Generations*, 25, 186-87; Lockridge, "Population of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736," 332-33.

who died only exist for random years: 1630, 1631, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1719, 1743, 1746, 1758, 1759, 1762. Table 4 displays the percentages of the younger and the total number of children buried during these years. In the 1630s three out of ten deaths should be classified as those of infants or very young children, and two out of ten deaths were of older children, so that one out of two deaths represented a person fifteen years of age or under. From 1719 to 1746, the percentage of deaths of these two groups of young people remained approximately the same, but the number of deaths among infants and young children increased within the group to 43.6 per cent of the entire number of deaths. Finally, as part of a general trend of growth from 1758 to 1762, there was a decline in the number of deaths among young people to the point that they numbered only three out of every ten deaths. Yet, the lives of young people could still not be considered totally secure; in 1758 they again contributed heavily to the high death rate.

Before settling upon a high child mortality figure, other statistics should also be examined. One must break down St. Augustine's population into age groups, so that the percentage of deaths can be compared with the percentage of people in each

TABLE 4
MORTALITY OF PERSONS 15 YEARS OF AGE OR UNDER, 1630-1762

Period	Years	0-5		0-15	
		No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
	1630	3	14.3	8	38.1
	1631	4	26.7	8	53.3
	1633	3	17.6	4	23.5
	1634	9	69.2	9	69.2
	1635	7	41.2	8	47.1
	1636	7	29.2	10	41.7
	1637	7	25.0	19	67.9
1630-1637		40	29.6	66	48.9
	1719	13	68.4	13	68.4
	1732	62	54.4	63	55.3
	1743	15	21.1	17	23.9
	1745	26	38.2	29	42.6
	1746	36	46.8	38	49.4
1719-1746		152	43.6	160	45.8
	1758	18	32.1	28	50.0
	1759	3	9.7	3	9.7
	1762	18	20.7	22	25.3
1758-1762		39	22.4	53	30.5

age group. Information on ages in the parish registers is too inconsistent to set up an age pyramid for St. Augustine, but it is possible to formulate an idea of the ratio of adults to children from the evacuation reports of 1763-1764. They show 57 per cent of the evacuees classified as adults and 43 per cent children.[43] The surprisingly high percentage of children is typical of eighteenth-century dependent communities. The large number of children within the population is explained by the fact that low life expectancy assured that only eight per cent or less of the population would live beyond the age of sixty.[44] A study of white population in the eighteenth-century Caribbean community of Barbados shows more than half of the population under twenty years of age.[45] Though Barbados had an exceptionally youthful population, there is no reason to consider an eighteenth century figure of 43 per cent unusually high, except in the self-contained communities of New England.[46] It is probable the percentage of children in St. Augustine could be scaled down for the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. More than 1,000 babies, a very high number, were born between 1753 and 1762, and many of these survived. One should thus conclude that a figure of 43 per cent is higher than in earlier generations. A figure of 35 or 36 per cent of children in the population is a simple conjecture for the earlier generations. What is more definite, however, is that in only a few of the random years, specifically 1634, 1637, 1719, and 1732, did the percentage of deaths of children and youths exceed their percentage of St. Augustine's population. More often, particularly in 1759, 1761, and 1763, the percentage of children and youths who died declined far below their proportion of the population. If certain conjectures are accepted, it appears that extensive child mortality did not constitute a consistently important factor in creating St, Augustine's high death rate.

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43. AGI 86-6-6/43, April 16, 1764, ST; AGI 87-1-5/3-4, January 22, 1764, September 26, 1766, January 27, 1770, ST.
44. Edward Rosset, *Aging Process of Population*, transl. by I. Dobosy et. al., ed. by H. Infeld (New York, 1964), 56-59.
45. Patricia A. Molen, "Population and Social Patterns in Barbados in the Early Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, XXVIII (April 1971), 294-96.
46. In seventeenth-century Andover, Massachusetts, it was not unusual for more than twenty per cent of the men who survived to the age of twenty to live to be older than eighty. Greven, *Four Generations*, 27, 108-10.

Though children did not contribute as much as expected to St. Augustine's high death rate, St. Augustine's males consistently did. In Table 5 the number of deaths in random years have been divided by sex and have been computed into male percentages. Gathering the percentages of male deaths into periods, the figures reveal that in the 1630s males averaged 61.9 per cent of the deaths; from 1719 to 1746, 69.1 per cent of the deaths; and from 1758 to 1763, 68.6 per cent of the deaths. During these random years the community buried two men for every one woman. The male death rate in St. Augustine was traditionally higher than the female because of military and exploratory duties. Still, the female death rate was not radically lower on account of high mortality in child birth. Such an unusually high number of male burials should most probably be attributed to the fact that men outnumbered women in the population.

TABLE 5
MORTALITY BY SEX, 1623-1763,
BASED ON MALE DEATHS AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL DEATHS

Period	Years	Males	Females	Per cent
	1623	14	2	87.5
	1630	9	9	50.0
	1631	9	5	64.3
	1632	15	15	50.0
	1633	7	6	53.8
	1634	10	3	76.9
	1635	13	13	50.0
	1636	13	7	65.0
	1637	17	8	68.0
	1638	5	1	83.3
1623-1638		112	69	61.9
	1719	16	6	72.7
	1732	87	24	78.4
	1743	44	23	65.7
	1744	59	39	60.2
	1745	53	16	76.8
	1746	48	29	62.3
1719-1746		307	137	69.1
	1758	31	25	55.4
	1759	20	11	64.5
	1760	19	8	70.4
	1761	25	7	78.1
	1762	65	22	74.7
	1763	26	12	68.4
1758-1763		186	85	68.6
1623-1763		605	291	67.5

One last set of data comes from the lists of marriages in the parish registers. It is important to note that marriage rates are one of the most sensitive records of economic change, and that a high marriage rate is an excellent indicator of material prosperity. In most seventeenth- and eighteenth-century communities marriage was a calculated act, taking into account assets and future prospects, rather than affection and physical attraction.[47] Figure 1 shows that during crises in St. Augustine like the years 1668, 1702, and 1740 the number of marriages remained low. However, as the number of young *peninsulares* increased within the garrison, and St. Augustine's *crillo* girls found themselves heirs to houses and the possessors of substantial dowries, the number of marriages increased. In consequence, St. Augustine generally achieved a high marriage rate.

Using the censuses and estimates for 1685, 1689, 1702, 1736, and 1756-1759, it is possible to calculate the following respective marriage rates per 1,000 inhabitants: 7, 10, 6, 13, 13. The figures show a trend toward a higher marriage rate after 1702. Furthermore, the last figures are considerably higher than those of European communities. Seventeenth-century Clayworth, England, and Crulai, France, had figures of approximately 7 marriages per 1,000 while eighteenth-century Nottingham ranged between 8 and 13.[48] Moreover, in the case of the marriage rate, the French and British colonial possessions ranked generally lower.[49] The figures for Dedham averaged between 6 and 7 marriages per 1,000 and even eighteenth-century French Canada achieved only a mark of 9-10 marriages per 1,000.[50] In terms of its marriage rate, then, St. Augustine must have been a community in which marriages could be readily and often contracted.

So far this study has examined St. Augustine as though it were a completely closed community, totally dependent upon natural causes for its level of population. To assess the role of migration in St. Augustine's growth, the historian must integrate clues from the previous demographic analysis into his knowledge

47. Eversley, "Population, Economy and Society," 39-45.
48. Laslett and Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," 173, 176, 182; Henry and Gautier, *La population de Crulai, paroisse Normande,* 59-61.
49. Larquié, "Etude de démographie madrilène," 245.
50. Lockridge, "Population of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736," 330; Henripin and Péron, "The demographic transition of the province of Quebec," 218-19, 225-26.

of mobility in St. Augustine. Outward migration from St. Augustine to the Florida hinterland seems to have been minimal because of the undeveloped and undefended nature of the Florida interior. Development of ranching in the 1680s and 1690s did cause some emigration from the town, but often it was only of a temporary nature and such outward migration came to an abrupt halt after Moore's attacks of 1702 and 1703-1704 on St. Augustine and Apalache.[51] For the rest of the Hispanic period the Florida interior was abandoned and population concentrated around St. Augustine. The evidence of migration from Spain, Spanish America, and Africa to St. Augustine is much more substantial. Another study, over the period 1658-1756, has shown that 64.1 per cent of the males married in St. Augustine were not natives of the town.[52] During the same period the figures for women married in St. Augustine assert that only 15.1 per cent were born outside of St. Augustine.[53] Clearly, immigration was extremely important in contributing to the number of males who married in St. Augustine.

If one combines the figures of women and men who married in St. Augustine, but were not natives, there is an understanding of the acceleration of immigration. Table 6 shows the number of immigrants by period, and then by yearly average, to take into account the variation of years by period. Since migration is best measured by change from one period to the next, substantial in-

TABLE 6
MIGRATION TO ST. AUGUSTINE BY PERIOD, 1658-1756

Period	Number of Immigrants	Number of Immigrants by Year	Per cent of Change
1658-1670	51	3.9	-------
1671-1701	189	6.1	56.4
1702-1732	222	7.2	18.0
1733-1756	416	16.6	130.6

51. John Jay TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763* (Durham, 1964), 110-16.
52. Theodore G. Corbett, "Migration to a Spanish Imperial Frontier in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: St. Augustine," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 54 (August 1974), 418.
53. This figure was computed from a sample consisting of 1,046 females or 77.18 per cent of the females whose marriages were recorded in the St. Augustine parish registers from 1658 to 1756.

crease in the number of immigrants by year shows a rise in the influx of immigrants to St. Augustine. Overall, Table 6 gives evidence that the number of immigrants increased throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, reaching a peak from 1733 to 1756. In fact, the influx of immigrants to St. Augustine in the fourth period was more than double what it had been in the third period. The second period, 1671-1701, was also one of heavy immigration, while the third period, 1702-1733, showed only moderate increase. The data contained in Figure 1 indicates that the influx of immigrants appears to have paralleled the increase in the number of marriages and estimated births. As in dependent communities, immigration had a considerable influence over the rate of growth in St. Augustine.

Because of extensive male immigration there were more men in St. Augustine than women. Certainly there were more during the evacuation of 1763-1764. Figure 2 indicates that they were the majority of both adults and children. Furthermore, the surplus of males explains two unanswered questions about previously presented material. The burial figures showing the interment of two males for every female do not reflect a higher mortality rate for males. Rather they indicate that males were more numerous in the population than females, and consequently they account for a larger number of burials. Also, the low sex ratio that existed after 1670 would have produced, carried to its logical conclusion, a surplus of females by the time of the evacuation. But it did not because immigration of males made up for the natural population loss. The constant influx of men, many of whom were single, provided eligible husbands for an increasing population of daughters and widows. Hence St. Augustine's marriage rate was high, and these marriages were the key to the demographic survival of the town.

How does St. Augustine fit with our earlier descriptions of the contrasting self-contained and dependent communities? On

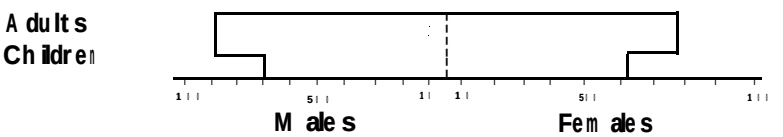

FIGURE 2
Population structure, the evacuation of 1763-1764 by adults and children.

the whole, St. Augustine's population pattern followed the dependent type, for mortality was high; in 1727-1728, for instance, over 10 per cent of the population died. Births per marriage were also low so that the chance of population increase in St. Augustine was minimal. Demographic decline was prevented, however, because of the constant influx of male immigrants. Yet, this overall view did contain some periods which were more compatible with the model of a self-contained community. From 1683 to 1702 and from 1753 to 1762 the number of births per marriage was high, while mortality in the second period declined to the point that there were no longer catastrophic death cycles. During both periods the economic environment was healthy because of the construction of new fortifications and an adequate food supply. But even in these two periods, population was essentially dependent, although there were some fleeting moments when St. Augustine's demographic history was not so different from the self-contained towns of New England.

MADISON COUNTY'S SEA ISLAND COTTON INDUSTRY, 1870-1916

by CLIFTON PAISLEY*

THE DEMAND FOR cotton with a silky fiber, great tensile strength, and a staple at least one and five-eighths inches in length created a boom in the growing of Sea Island cotton in North Florida and South Georgia during the last third of the nineteenth century. Although Sea Island never comprised more than one per cent of the cotton grown in the United States, the use of its long-staple fibers for fine fabrics, laces, thread, and eventually for automobile tires enabled "long cotton," as it was called, to command a price that was double and sometimes triple that paid for Upland short-staple cotton. The price lured an increasing number of farmers into production of Sea Island, while special facilities for ginning provided by such communities as Madison, Florida, both encouraged production and resulted in moderate prosperity for these towns. Madison at one time claimed it had "the largest Sea Island cotton gin in the world," and during the fall long lines of wagons waited to unload seed cotton at the Florida Manufacturing Company. This prosperity continued into the twentieth century but was halted by the arrival of the boll weevil in 1916. While this pest only curtailed the growing of Upland short-staple cotton, it completely wiped out the more slowly maturing Sea Island.

Although it was called Sea Island cotton, it was almost entirely an inland crop during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was limited to a comparatively small part of the Cotton Belt– sections of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Only in South Carolina was the crop grown on the sea islands– James, Edisto, John, and Wadmalaw– where a long tradition of careful breeding, cultivating, and handling had resulted in the production of premium varieties that sold at top prices, sometimes as much as eighty cents a pound. There was a limited demand for this quality-grade cotton with a staple of more than

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two inches. Elsewhere in South Carolina, Sea Island grew in a narrow strip along the coast. In Georgia the principal growing area was inland, extending from Bulloch and Tatnall counties, west of Savannah, in a southwestward direction to Berrien and Lowndes counties. In Florida the principal growing area extended from Madison County eastward and southeastward into Suwannee, Hamilton, Columbia, Alachua, Bradford, and Baker counties. This interior section of Georgia and Florida produced a cotton with a staple length of one and five-eighths to one and seven-eighths inches which in prosperous years brought a price of from twenty-five to forty or fifty cents a pound.[1]

Sea Island cotton had moved inland during the two decades preceding the Civil War, particularly in the 1850s when demand for the long staple in English mills considerably increased the price. Before this time its American habitat had been limited to the southeast coast, particularly the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia to which *Gossypium barbadense* had been introduced from the West Indies in 1786-1787.[2] The price paid for the kind of Sea Island cotton grown in Florida ranged from thirty-nine to forty-nine cents a pound in 1853.[3] For the year ending August 31, 1858, Sea Island production totalled 25,685 bags in Florida, 26,663 bags in South Carolina, and 10,008 bags in Georgia.[4] At this time, the lint was packed loosely in bags weighing far less than the 400 pounds typical of a pressed bale of Upland cotton. Sea Island probably accounted for barely one-fourth by weight of Florida's 1859 cotton crop of 65,153 bales.[5] Sea Island was grown almost entirely outside the five-county "red hill" region around Tallahassee where Upland short-staple cotton dominated plantation agriculture. That Sea Island was of little importance there is indicated by cotton shipments out of St. Marks, the principal port for Middle Florida. Upland cotton

1. W. A. Orton, "Sea Island Cotton," United States Department of Agriculture, *Farmers Bulletin 787* (Washington, 1916), 1-40. See especially the map on page 2.
2. Lewis Cecil Gray and Esther Katherine Thompson, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States To 1860,* 2 vols. (Washington, 1933; facsimile edition, New York, 1958), II, 675, 733-39; Jerrell H. Shofner and William Warren Rogers, "Sea Island Cotton in Ante-Bellum Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XL (April 1962), 373-80.
3. Gray and Thompson, *History of Agriculture,* II, 734.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.;* U.S. Census Office, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture,* II (Washington, 1864), 19.

totalling 46,636 bales and valued at $2,098,620 left St. Marks in 1856; Sea Island cotton shipments totalled only 6,641 bales valued at $431,665.[6]

After the Civil War Sea Island continued for a time to comprise only about one-fourth of the Florida cotton crop, but by 1880 its production accelerated, and eventually it would become the state's most productive cotton crop. In 1879, according to a special report on cotton issued in connection with the United States Census of 1880, 39,465 of the total Florida production of 54,997 bales was Upland short-staple.[7] All but a small fraction of the Upland cotton was produced in the cotton plantation belt – Jackson, Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson, and Madison counties– an area with a predominantly black population; most of the Sea Island cotton was produced in a dozen or more counties outside this territory, a predominantly white area.[8] No Sea Island at all was produced west of the Apalachicola River, and while Sea Island had taken over a few stands east of this in the Upland belt, it was not grown there in any considerable quantity except in Madison County.[9] Madison's main crop was Upland in 1879, while the cotton grown east and south of Madison was Sea Island.[10] In Hamilton County five-sixths of the cotton was Sea Island.[11] Many variations in yield were found from place to place, with some particularly favorable locations producing a bale an acre. On the average, however, approximately five acres were required to produce one bale of Sea Island cotton, while about four were required for a larger bale of Upland short-staple.[12]

The special census report noted, however, that with the price differential, a grower could earn more from an acre of Sea Island than from an acre of Upland, even though the latter yielded more lint. When the price of Upland was ten cents a pound and the price of Sea Island thirty cents, the net profit on the former would be $3.42 an acre, while on Sea Island it would be $6.70

6. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, February 14, 1857, microfilm, NP 4, roll 8, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.
7. U.S. Census Office, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Cotton Production in the United States*, VI, pt. II (Washington, 1884), 209.
8. *Ibid.*, 211.
9. *Ibid.*, 209.
10. *Ibid.*, 222.
11. *Ibid.*, 229.
12. *Ibid.*, 210.

per acre. The profit was based on an average Upland yield per acre of .24 of a bale of 475 pounds. From this production of 114 pounds of lint per acre the farmer would receive $11.40. After subtracting $7.98 as the cost of his production, he would realize a net profit of $3.42 on each acre of Upland cotton. Sea Island product per acre averaged .19 of a 350-pound bale; and the sixty-seven pounds of lint thus produced would sell for $20.10. After subtracting the cost of production, amounting to $13.40, the grower would have $6.70 as net profit on each acre of Sea Island cotton cultivated.[13]

The 1890 census revealed gains for Sea Island cotton in Florida. Cotton production decreased throughout most of the Upland belt between 1879 and 1889, but in the Sea Island cotton-growing counties production increased sharply, in some areas doubling.[14] In 1895-1896 the Florida Commissioner of Agriculture reported that Sea Island, with 93,514 planted acres, was the major cotton in Florida, far exceeding Upland with a planted acreage of 70,860. Production was reported to be 24,574 bales of Sea Island as compared with 21,104 bales of Upland; the value of the Sea Island crop was $1,376,966 as compared with $696,789 for Upland. "Sea Island cotton is a close second in importance to tobacco as a standard field crop," said the commissioner, "and should be planted by every farmer whose soil is suitable for the purpose. "[15] Sea Island had gained still further by 1899, when the United States Census reported Florida production was 31,238 bales in twenty-nine counties. Ten years earlier, 23,918 bales had been produced, There was even a larger gain in Georgia, where the area of production had expanded to eighty-two counties and the yield had increased to 57,812 bales from 13,629 bales in 1889.[16]

There were, however, some disadvantages in growing Sea Island cotton. Production per acre was smaller. Selection of seed, cultivating the cotton, and picking it all required more attention and skill than Upland cotton. Special care had to be taken that

13. Ibid.
14. U.S. Census Office, *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890, Report on the Statistics of Agriculture,* V (Washington, 1895), 58-59.
15. Florida, *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of Florida, for the period Beginning Jan. I, 1895, and ending Dec. 31, 1896* (Tallahassee, 1896), 90-91, 85.
16. U.S. Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Agriculture,* VI, pt. II (Washington, 1902), 415.

the picked cotton was clean, neither wet nor too dry when it was ready for the gin, and that it was properly ginned. Short-staple cotton was ginned on saw gins, which could handle 650 pounds per hour; Sea Island required a roller gin that could handle only fifty to eighty pounds an hour. Finally, the marketing of Sea Island cotton was more difficult, particularly in localities where merchants and buyers were not very familiar with "long cotton" and might offer less than the actual value of the crop.[17] Despite these disadvantages an increasing number of farmers grew Sea Island cotton where the land and the climate were suitable. There was no competition, except from other American Sea Island cotton growers, when the staple they produced was between one and five-eighths and one and seven-eighths inches and the grade good. Egyptian cotton and Upland long-staple cotton from the Mississippi Valley were in competition only when the Sea Island grade was low or the staple short. Sea Island cotton produced in the West Indies competed only with the premium cotton grown on the South Carolina islands.[18]

The land within wagon-hauling distance of Madison, Florida, at the eastern extremity of the state's antebellum Upland belt, appeared to meet most of the conditions required for Sea Island cotton. It grew best on land with a sandy or sandy loam soil that had a clay sub-soil a foot below the surface. The most suitable soil was classified as Norfolk fine sand, followed by Norfolk sand, Norfolk sandy loam, and a few related types. Sea Island also thrived where the atmosphere was humid. Island locations provided the needed atmospheric moisture and so, apparently, did swamps and forests bordering inland fields. In addition to the trackless wild called San Pedro Bay, Madison County had many swamps on the border of the uplands covering the northern two-thirds of the county. Although Sea Island also required a continuing supply of moisture for the roots– thriving much better than short-staple cotton during a wet season– it also needed some elevation to assure good drainage. Some of Madison County's pine-clad slopes and rolling lands appeared to be ideal for the crop.[19]

17. Orton, "Sea Island Cotton," 3, 4, 5, 8, 18, 20, 26, 28-32.
18. *Ibid.,* 7.
19. *Ibid.,* 3-4.

As in other Middle Florida counties, agriculture in Madison emerged from. the Civil War in a severely depressed state. The county appears, however, to have had a large number of yeomen farmers who were determined to improve conditions, and their ranks were soon swelled by many newcomers. If participation in the Granger movement was an indication of developing tendencies in agriculture, Madison was one of the most progressive counties in the state in the early 1870s. Seven of the twenty-eight local Granges in Florida in 1873 were in Madison County.[20] Judge John C. McGehee, the head of one, was the owner of 2,430-acre Chuleotah Plantation on the Old St. Augustine Road. He had been interested in scientific agriculture since before the Civil War as indicated by his authorship of a paper, "Black Seed Cotton," read at the Planters Convention in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1853.[21] Sea Island cotton evidently had an appeal for all of the progressive-thinking agriculturalists, whether planters or dirt farmers, but because it was a crop that seemed capable of a good cash return on a small acreage, it had a particular appeal for the small independent farmers and landowners.

Combined with an ideal natural setting and an experimental bent among farmers, was the additional ingredient of local business enterprise, eventually aided by outside capital. These turned Madison into one of the centers for the ginning and shipping of Sea Island cotton during the latter part of the nineteenth cen-

20. *The Rural Carolinian; an illustrated magazine of agriculture, horticulture and the arts,* V (1873-1874), 316. This journal, published in Charleston, South Carolina, listed local Granges with Madison County members and their masters, as: Villiage, B. F. Wardlaw of Madison; Cherry Lake, John Tillman of Madison; Forrest, B. D. Harrell of Ellaville; Withlacoochee, William McDaniel of Madison; Shiloh, A. J. Lea of Quitman, Georgia; Chuleotah, J. C. McGehee of Madison; and Suwannee, George F. Drew of Ellaville. The Strozier Library contains volumes one through five, October 1869 to September 1874.

21. Weymouth T. Jordan, *Rebels In The Making: Planters' Conventions and Southern Propaganda* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1958), 87. Published as number seven in the series *Confederate Centennial Studies.* John C. McGehee (1801-1881) is better known as the president of the Florida Secession Convention of 1861. For a brief sketch by his niece, Rosa Galphin, see "Documents Relating to Secession in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* IV (April 1926), 183-91. Another Grange master, George F. Drew (1827-1900), became Florida's first Democratic governor following Reconstruction. See Jerrell H. Shofner, "A Note on Governor George F. Drew," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLVIII (April 1970), 412-14; Edward C. Williamson, "George F. Drew, Florida's Redemption Governor," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXVIII (January 1960), 206-15; Allen Morris, comp., *The Florida Handbook, 1975-1976* (Tallahassee, 1975), 86.

tury. The seacoast city of Savannah, and the inland towns of Blackshear and Valdosta, Georgia, and Alachua, Florida, became the other principal centers for handling the interior Sea Island cotton crop of Georgia and Florida.[22] Sea Island cotton was first introduced into Lowndes County, Georgia, in 1874-1876. Valdosta, the county seat, only thirty miles from Madison, between 1890 and 1916 boasted of being the largest inland market for Sea Island cotton in the world.[23]

In Madison, the principal Sea Island cotton ginnery for many years was the Florida Manufacturing Company, the product of the business enterprise of John Livingston Inglis, son of Scottish parents and a native of Liverpool, England. Inglis was born on January 1, 1838, and was in America as early as 1857. He was at Newport, Florida, when the Civil War broke out. He joined a Wakulla County company and served in the Confederate army in Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and was captured in the Battle of Nashville near the end of the war and imprisoned for five months at Johnson's Island. Discharged from Confederate service as a captain, he returned to Florida, going to Madison where his father lived.[24]

The idea and first initiative for the Florida Manufacturing Company appear to have been those of Inglis's father, Andrew, a native of Edinburgh who had come to America shortly before the Civil War and had settled in Madison in 1861.[25] In August 1866, the older Inglis signed articles of agreement with two Madison County merchants, Samuel B. Thomas and Archie Livingston, forming a partnership called the Madison Manufacturing Company for the purpose of "carrying on the saw milling, grist milling, and cotton ginning business."[26]

Thomas and Livingston agreed to provide the capital for the enterprise, together with 680 acres of land. Forty acres were along

22. Orton, "Sea Island Cotton," 5.
23. [General James Jackson Chapter, D.A.R.], *History of Lowndes County, Georgia* (Valdosta, Georgia, n.d.), 89. Copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
24. *Florida Edition, Makers of America, An Historical and Biographical Work by an Able Corps of Writers,* 4 vols. (Atlanta, 1969-1911), IV, 277-78; Madison *Enterprise-Recorder,* June 8, 1917.
25. *Florida Edition, Makers of America,* IV, 277.
26. Madison County Deed Record Book H-1, p. 321, Office of the Circuit Court Clerk, Courthouse, Madison. All Madison County records cited hereinafter are located in the courthouse.

a road which was a southward extension of Range Street in Madison, at the tracks of what was then called the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad. This was later the site of the Florida Manufacturing Company's gin and warehouses. Andrew Inglis, a construction engineer, millwright, and machinist, was to design the plant, including plans for its steam and other machinery, and to superintend the operation. He was to receive a salary of $1,000 a year and one-third of the profits.[27] Since Inglis died a year after the agreement was signed, it is doubtful whether the cotton gin was constructed before his death.[28]

In 1870, however, the same land was being used by John L. Inglis and his partner, Samuel B. Thomas, now his father-in-law.[29] One of the enterprises of the Inglis and Thomas partnership was a general store which, from the date on the brick store building that still stands across the tracks and across Range Street from the cotton gin, was in operation in 1873.[30] Shortly afterwards Inglis became sole owner of the land and enterprises. The 1875 taxrolls indicate that with property valued at $23,380 upon which taxes of $421.34 were paid, he was one of Madison County's largest taxpayers.[31] A letterhead dated 1877 reveals that among his enterprises was Phoenix Mills.[32] By 1882 Inglis evidently was operating a sizable ginnery. A deed signed that year included a ginhouse, millhouse, shops, boilers, belting, engines, and other equipment in the transfer of land at the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad tracks to a New York corporation, Madison Cotton Ginning Company, Phoenix Mills. At the same time Inglis and two New York capitalists, Edgar L. and Hugh D. Auchincloss, incorporated this new company with an authorized capital of $35,000.[33]

The formation of the new company and transfer of the ginnery to it in 1882 represented the first entry of outside capital into the Madison. enterprise. By 1889 Inglis had become a minority stockholder in Madison Cotton Ginning Company, Phoenix

27. *Ibid.*
28. Andrew Inglis died, according to his gravestone in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Madison, on October 21, 1867.
29. Madison County Deed Record Book H-2, pp. 116, 129, 131.
30. Interview with Miss Christine Sasser, Madison, October 6, 1973.
31. Madison County Taxrolls, 1872-1877, microfilm roll JR3893-94, 1872-1877, Florida State Library, Tallahassee.
32. This letter is in the possession of E. B. Browning, Sr., Madison.
33. Madison County Deed Record Book K, pp. 766, 855.

Mills, and various members of the Auchincloss family owned $64,000 of the $100,000 in capital stock. In this same year the plant was sold again, this time to the Florida Manufacturing Company, a New York corporation, for $110,000.[34] With this sale Inglis left the cotton ginning business to pioneer in mining rock phosphates as president of the newly organized Dunnellon Phosphate Company.[35] The ginnery now came under the control of the Scottish thread-makers, J. & P. Coats, Ltd., a company that was the largest thread manufacturer in Great Britain and shortly, along with a British affiliate, would control two-thirds of the cotton thread production in the United States.[36]

How big the ginnery was under Inglis's ownership is not known, but by the turn of the century it was by far the largest in this part of the Sea Island cotton belt. Eventually there was a complex of several buildings east of Range Street and north of the tracks of what became the Seaboard Coastline Railroad, with a work force of seventy-five. The two-story brick ginhouse contained sixty-five gins, all but a few of them for Sea Island cotton. It was said to be capable of a production of 140 bales a day. The old Inglis and Thomas store building was used as a commissary, and there were houses for supervisory personnel and some for employees, many of whom were blacks. The company had a complete water system with fire hydrants. Before the turn of the century there was a mill to remove the oil from the cottonseed and compress the residue into cottonseed cake. In addition to providing more cash for farmers, this part of the operation filled the air

34. *Ibid.*, Book 0,204.
35. *Florida Edition, Makers of America,* IV, 278-79. Hugh D. Auchincloss and J. W. Auchincloss, who had been associated with Inglis in the cotton-ginning enterprise, also were investors in the phosphate industry. Inglis lived the last several years of his life in Jacksonville. Madison *Enterprise-Recorder,* June 8, 1917. His interest in history led to his election in 1913 to the office of second vice-president of the Florida Historical Society. Watt Marchman, "The Florida Historical Society, 1856-1861, 1879, 1902-1940," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XIX (July 1940), 25. Inglis died on June 3, 1917. Madison *Enterprise-Recorder,* June 8, 1917.
36. The business records of the Florida Manufacturing Company appear to have been lost. Whatever can be reconstructed about the enterprise comes from such sources as Miss Christine Sasser, whose father, A. Calvin Sasser (1851-1923) was an employee of the company for forty-two years, finally becoming mill superintendent. John L. Fonda was manager during much of this period. Interview with Miss Christine Sasser, Madison, August 31, 1972. See also Melvin Thomas Copeland, *The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the United States* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1923), 169-70.

all fall and winter with the pungent and pleasant odor of cooking cottonseed oil and cake.[37] The Seaboard locomotives moved freight cars in and out of the plant area on spur tracks. In addition, after 1900 there was also what was popularly known as the "Spool Cotton Road" which connected the plant with Valdosta, Georgia.[38]

In the central part of the complex was a brick building housing the boilers and steam engine that powered the gins. Manufactured by the Lane E. Bodley Company of Cincinnati, this engine was capable of generating 500 horsepower. The five-foot stroke of its piston was conveyed to a flywheel eighteen feet in diameter, while a drive shaft, belt, and transmission line composed of 2,000 feet or more of two-inch Manila rope conveyed the power to the gins and other machinery. For miles around Madison could be heard the blast of the plant whistle at 4 a.m., noon, and at 6 p.m., but many a wagon full of cotton was on the road before the early morning blast. There were spaces where three wagons could unload their cotton simultaneously, and the wagons had to wait only a few minutes as large suction pipes took up the cotton. Carl Smith, who farmed 800 acres in the Hanson community six miles north of Madison until his death in September 1975, used to tell how he once got too close to a suction pipe and lost his hat with a load of cotton.[39]

While it took only ten or fifteen minutes to unload a wagon, the wagons waited in long lines before they were admitted to the gin. One line usually extended north on Range Street for several blocks, while others formed from traffic that flowed into Madison along the Hopewell, Sampala, and other roads from the south. Farmers brought their cotton not only from throughout Madison but from Lafayette, Taylor, and other counties. Not infrequently, a load started on its way the day before it was to be ginned.

37. Interview with Miss Christine Sasser, Madison, August 31, 1972; interview with Jesse Hughey, Hanson, September 7, 1973; interview with Henry A. Bennett, Madison, October 6, 1973. See also Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 7, 1963.

38. *History of Lowndes County, Georgia, 1825-1941*, 209. This source states that the railroad, actually named the "Florida, Midland & Gulf," was started by J. & P. Coats, but later turned over to "Col. J. M. Wilkinson and associates."

39. Interviews with Paul H. McClune, Madison, August 31, 1972, October 6, 1973; interview with Miss Christine Sasser, Madison, October 6, 1973; interview with Carl Smith, Hanson, June 14, 1973. Much of the detail is from Mr. McClune, a machinist.

Henry A. Bennett of Madison, who was eighty-three on January 7, 1973, recalls as a boy hearing the wagons rumbling along during the night, and sometimes the haulers encamped overnight on his father's farm three miles south of Madison on State Road 53.[40] Sometimes the seed cotton arrived in freight cars instead of wagons– probably reflecting not only the shortage of ginning equipment for long-staple cotton in the Upland cotton belt to the west, but also the widespread practice of selling Sea Island cotton "in the seed."[41] It was believable to the people of Madison, a town with a population of only 849 in 1900, that this indeed was "the largest Sea Island cotton gin in the world."[42]

After 1900, the Madison Ginning Company, owned and operated by B. B. McCall, and occupying a full block at the edge of the Madison business district, provided growers another gin for their Sea Island cotton.[43] The Merchant's & Farmers Ginning Company was still a third ginnery; as the 1916 cotton picking season approached, its directors announced that two additional

40. Interview with Henry A. Bennett, Madison, October 6, 1973. Mr. Bennett converted the old Inglis and Thomas store building into a residence and has lived there since 1946, unperturbed by the freight trains that roar by, day and night, scarcely thirty feet from the doorstep. He has long been an admirer of trains.
41. Interview with Tom J. Beggs, Madison, September 30, 1972; interview with James E. Hughey, Sr., Madison, September 7, 1973.
42. U.S. Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Population,* I, pt. I (Washington, 1901), 441. Paul H. McClune, a resident of Madison since 1925, first learned of the community from a geography book when he was attending Walnut Run School, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, about 1914 or 1915. This book, he remembers, referred to Madison as having "the largest Sea Island cotton gin in the world." Interview with Paul McClune, Madison, August 31, 1972. E. B. Browning, Sr., of Madison, who is more familiar with Madison County history than any other person, and who proved to be of great assistance in the researching of this article, does not know either upon what the claim is based or when it originated, but is inclined to beileve that it is true. Browning to the author, September 22, 1973. That the county ginned more Sea Island cotton than any other in South Carolina, Georgia, or Florida is indicated in a special 1900 census report. See U. S. Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Manufactures,* IX, pt. III (Washington, 1902), 342, 343, 347. This report stated that Madison County ginned 8,983 bales of Sea Island cotton in 1899, its nearest rivals being Bulloch County, Georgia, with 7,868 bales, and Lowndes County, Georgia, with 7,577 bales. In Florida, the county second in Sea Island cotton ginning to Madison was Alachua, with 4,868 bales. Other census evidence proves that although Madison was a small town in 1900, Madison County was a large county with 6,542 white persons and 8,904 blacks, a total population of 15,446. See *Twelfth Census, 1900, Population,* I, pt. I, 533.
43. Interview with Tom J. Beggs, Madison, September 30, 1972; Madison County Deed Record Book 25, pp. 601, 603.

long cotton gins were being installed, making six for long cotton and two for Upland short-staple.[44] Small ginneries also operated in the communities of Greenville, Pinetta, and Lee, as well as smaller places.[45] In 1915 there were nine gins with 122 employees in Madison County.[46]

Several Madison merchants, as well as other cotton buyers, purchased the farmers' cotton. The growers would take a handful of lint from buyer to buyer and sell at the highest price offered. One of the cotton buyers was T. J. Beggs & Co., whose store across Range Street from the courthouse opened its doors during the heyday of the Sea Island cotton business and is still doing business after nearly ninety years. Beggs took the cotton at currently quoted prices and usually shipped it to a broker at Savannah, Georgia. The cotton was held in a warehouse there, and it was resold when the market appeared to be the most favorable. Beggs frequently dealt with the commission merchants and brokers, Butler and Stevens, or with W. W. Gordon and Company.[47]

Many growers sold to country merchants whose stores were to be found throughout Madison County at that time. Small farmers with a single ox or mule were able to dispose of their cotton near their farms. Many had only broken lots amounting to considerably less than a bale after ginning, and they sold it in the seed.[48] The Madison *Enterprise-Recorder* often carried local market quotations for long cotton both in the seed and as lint. On October 20, 1916, for instance, the quotations were thirteen and one-half cents a pound for seed cotton, forty-one cents for lint.

The price received depended to some extent upon the grade, and there were grades ranging from fancy, extra choice, and extra fine down to fine and "dogs," with a price differential of

44. Madison *Enterprise-Recorder,* July 7, 1916.
45. Interview with Carl Smith, Hanson, June 14, 1973; interview with Mrs. Lola Whitty, Lee, September 7, 1973.
46. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Fourteenth Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture of the State of Florida, Division of Agriculture and Immigration, Part 3– Census of Manufactures for the year 1915* (Tallahassee, 1916), 25.
47. Interview with Tom J. Beggs, Madison, September 30, 1972; interview with James E. Hughey, Sr., Madison, September 7, 1973. Mr. Beggs loaned the author several from among the more than fifty storebooks from his father's store, and its predecessor– W. L. Parramore & Co.– dating from the 1880s.
48. Interview with Carl Smith, Hanson, September 7, 1973.

up to ten cents a pound. Exposure to weather before picking, storing or ginning when too wet, the presence of stained or yellow cotton or of leaves or other trash all reduced the grade. Probably few cotton buyers in the area made a fine distinction between grades, and some farmers probably were paid too little and others too much for their cotton.[49]

Storebooks of the Beggs enterprise show receipt of sixteen bales of Sea Island cotton during the fall of 1903 from D. M. Deas, who was paid prices ranging from nineteen and one-half to twenty-three and one-fourth cents a pound for lint cotton. Deas made the first of several deliveries of his cotton on October 15, a lot consisting of six bales that brought $420.42. The second delivery, October 20, consisted of three bales that sold for $226.19; the third, October 23, of one bale that brought $80.85; the fourth, November 15, of three bales that sold for $266.50. Deas's fifth and final delivery, on December 2, brought the highest price of the season, twenty-three and one-half cents a pound, but the three bales that were delivered at this time apparently were undersized, for they brought only $248.31.[50]

Prices paid by the store during the 1903-1904 season ranged from twenty and one-fourth to twenty-five and one-half cents a pound for Sea Island cotton and from ten to fifteen cents a pound for Upland cotton. During the two seasons prior to this, Sea Island brought about twenty cents and Upland eight cents through the season. In 1900-1901 Sea Island was priced at from twenty-one and eight-tenths cents to twenty-two and three-fourths cents, while Upland was priced at eight and one-half cents. During the 1905 season the price of Upland fell from ten and three-eighths cents to three and one-half cents during the course of the year, but Sea Island fluctuated only between eighteen and five-tenths cents and twenty-one cents.[51] Sometimes, however, the price of Sea Island cotton dipped almost to the price of Upland cotton. Henry A. Bennett recalls when, in one of the early years of this century, he sold long cotton in the seed at five cents a pound and a neighbor sold a 400-pound bale of long cotton for twelve and one-half cents a pound in the lint.[52]

49. W. A. Orton, "Sea Island Cotton," 6.
50. T. J. Beggs & Co., Cash Book D, 1901-05. Loaned to the author by Mr. Beggs.
51. *Ibid*.
52. Interview with Henry A. Bennett, Madison, October 6, 1973.

The amount of cotton taken in by Beggs varied considerably from year to year. In the 1896-1897 season the storebooks reflect purchase of 640 bales of Sea Island for $33,482, and no purchases of Upland cotton; in 1897-1898 the store bought 1,626 bales of Sea Island for $73,631, while it purchased only 152 bales of Upland for $3,472.84. In 1898-1899, the store bought 695 bales of Sea Island for $33,236 and 153 bales of Upland for $3,487.95; in 1899-1900 it received 822 bales of Sea Island cotton for $48,298 and sixteen bales of Upland for $539.[53]

Enterprising farmers who were willing and able to provide all of the care needed in the growing and handling of Sea Island cotton prospered with "long cotton," as it was universally called. John Phillip Smith left Fort Scott, Kansas, and moved his family and much of his farm machinery to Madison County in 1896. He secured a 420-acre farm near Sampala Lake for $3.50 an acre. Devoting some fifty acres to Sea Island cotton, he was able to pay off his farm mortgage within two years. Two Kansas neighbors who had moved the same year were less successful. They had been promised all the acreage they could clear and plant at a remote spot, also near Lake Sampala, called Mt. Lonesome, but within a year they were returning to Kansas suffering from malaria.[54] Henry A. Bennett's father, Joseph Bennett, brought his family from South Carolina to Florida in 1895, settling first in Lafayette County and shortly afterward in Madison County. He grew only long cotton, never planting more than thirty acres.[55]

James E. Hughey, Sr., who was eighty-eight in the fall of 1973, recalls that he and other farmers "made a living" out of long cotton, just about the only cash crop at the time.[56] In many instances farming was an enterprise carried on by white families on a small acreage using principally the labor of the family and a few extra hands in the chopping and picking season. Hughey's brother, I. Z. Hughey, had 110 acres that he called a "two-horse farm." There was one black tenant family on the place, and some black hands were engaged during busy seasons. One son, Jesse Hughey (later city manager of Madison), recalls picking Sea Island cotton, an irksome and difficult job, and helping get it

53. T. J. Beggs & Co., Daybook D; Daybook E; Ledger C.
54. Interview with Carl Smith, Hanson, June 14, 1973. A son of J. P. Smith, Carl Smith was only two years old when his family moved from Kansas.
55. Interview with Henry A. Bennett, Madison, October 6, 1973.
56. Interview with James E. Hughey, Sr., Madison, September 7, 1973.

ready to take into town for ginning. After picking, the seed cotton was placed on the porch of the farmhouse to dry. The night before it was to be ginned, it was loaded into a wagon and packed down by tramping. The next morning the family's two-mule wagon reached Madison by daylight in order to get a good place in the line of wagons leading to Florida Manufacturing Company. This line, he recalls, frequently was four or five blocks long.[57]

E. B. Browning, Sr., former Madison County superintendent of schools and Madison's best-known historian, remembers the time when, as a boy growing up on a farm near Greenville, he worked in the long cotton fields. "I well recall picking long cotton, chopping and hoeing it. There was zest in each operation that tended to ease the aching back, for we were in the springtime of life. Riding to Madison to the gin on top of the cotton wagon and eating cheese, sardines, and crackers, had it all over a Sheraton Plaza menu. Moreover, the leisurely work in the field bred a group of raconteurs the like of which we may never see or hear again. Their stories might at times have stood a little sanitation but were always good."[58]

Sometimes Sea Island cotton-growing was an all-white enterprise, with white labor used even for cultivating and picking. In other instances Sea Island cotton growing was carried on with black tenant labor, as on the extensive Sampala Plantation of Captain Theodore Randall.[59] Another tenant farm was the 800-acre farm of John T. Woodard on the Blue Springs Road east of Madison. Woodard allowed tenants to use the land in any way they wished so long as they agreed to plant fifteen acres in long cotton.[60] Short cotton was sometimes grown on the same farms with long cotton, but Sea Island was the principal money crop in the areas where it could be grown.[61]

57. Interview with Jesse Hughey, Hanson, September 7, 1973.
58. E. P. Browning, Sr., to author, September 22, 1973.
59. Interview with James J. Cruce, State Road 360, near the community of Moseley Hall, thirteen miles southwest of Madison, June 14, 1973.
60. Interview with Carl W. Burnett, Blue Springs Road, State Highway 6, four miles east of Madison, September 30, 1972. Burnett was the son-in-law of Woodard.
61. Interview with Carl Smith, Hanson, June 14, 1973. In 1899 Madison County had nearly four times as many acres in Sea Island as in short staple cotton and led all other Florida counties in the production of Sea Island cotton. Sea Island was planted on 21,112 acres and produced 5,312 commercial bales, while Upland was planted on 5,358 acres and produced

The relatively high price of Sea Island evidently attracted many farmers to its cultivation. Sea Island was a boon to families with or without farms who could earn extra cash by picking it. There was more work associated with Sea Island, both in the cultivating and picking, than Upland, and the fall cotton-picking season frequently found several members of a family in the field. James J. Cruce in 1973, at the age of eighty-two, farmed a tract on State Road 360 east of Moseley Hall. He had lived near the community of Shady Grove in Taylor County at the turn of the century. Sea Island cotton was not grown there, but Cruce remembers that as a child of seven or eight he, a younger brother, and their mother began coming to the area in Madison County where he now lives to pick long cotton. He could pick sixty or seventy-five pounds a day, and his mother could pick 100 to 125 pounds. They received one and one-half cents a pound.[62] Henry A. Bennett, who picked cotton on other farms in addition to his father's, recalls never having been able to pick more than fifty-nine pounds, a record pick on three separate days. Bennett also said the picking wage he received was $1.00 per hundred pounds.[63]

White farmers in the Madison area where the Cruce family picked cotton usually had about five acres in Sea Island– sometimes ten, and rarely as many as fifteen acres– and they used white labor to pick it. The cotton was planted as soon as the danger of frost had passed, perhaps by April 1. Picking began late in September, about a month later than for Upland cotton. There were usually five or six pickings two weeks apart. The final one usually was in November, but Cruce remembers picking some cotton after Christmas.

In contrast with Upland cotton, Sea Island was a tall plant, frequently six-feet high and with a stalk as big as a boy's arm. The bolls at the lower part of the plant ripened first, and pickers moved upward as the season progressed. The Sea Island bolls were smaller, longer, and more pointed than Upland bolls, and never opened as widely as Upland. There were only three locks

1,937 bales. See *Twelfth Census, 1900, Agriculture,* VI, pt. II, 430, 431, 435.

62. Interview with James J. Cruce, State Road 360, June 14, 1973.

63. Interview with Henry A. Bennett, Madison, October 6, 1973. This is near the price of $1.00 to $1.25 per hundred pounds that prevailed in the Sea Island belt in 1916. See Orton, "Sea Island Cotton," 5.

of cotton compared with four or five in Upland. The cotton was planted in rows three and one-half to four feet apart. With fifteen or twenty pickers in a ten-acre field, one picking would require four or five days.

The picking was hard work, but Cruce recalls that there occasionally was a treat at the end, an opportunity to ride on top of a load of cotton the thirteen miles to the big ginnery in Madison. The wagons lined up sometimes for a fourth of a mile south of the Florida Manufacturing Company, and it was sometimes six or seven hours before a wagon could be unloaded. He says this was all for the good, however, because being in a big town like Madison that long was fun for a country boy.[64]

Production of Sea Island cotton was maintained after 1900 at about the level it reached during the previous decade. The average production of 400-pound bales during the 1910-1914 period was reported by the United States Department of Agriculture: South Carolina, 8,022 bales; Georgia, 50,055 bales; and Florida, 30,454 bales.[65]

The industry was thriving around Madison when, in 1916, the Mexican boll weevil made its first appearance. There had been a forewarning of this the year before when the Madison *Enterprise-Recorder* relayed a report by the United States Department of Agriculture that the boll weevil had suddenly stepped up the speed of its progress across the Southeast. They were encouraged by a drought in Mississippi and Alabama that deprived the weevils then infesting fields in those states of the accustomed cotton squares to feed upon. Then, borne by high winds that blew continuously for several days toward the northeast, the boll weevil advanced three times as far during the last two weeks of August 1915, as the thirty miles it usually moved in an entire season. It invaded Georgia, infesting twenty-five counties, northwest Florida, and infested twenty additional counties in Alabama.[66]

Growers, cotton buyers, and the Madison *Enterprise-Recorder* remained confident during the cotton-growing season in 1916. On June 2 the newspaper reported that Frank Littleton had brought in the year's first cotton bloom, and on July 28 County Agent

64. Interview with James J. Cruce, State Road 360, June 14, 1973.
65. Orton, "Sea Island Cotton," 3.
66. Madison *Enterprise-Recorder,* November 5, 1915.

D. R. McQuarrie optimistically reported in his newspaper column that "indications are that no weevils hibernated in this county," and that it looked like the boll weevil was "not going to damage the cotton crop very much if any in Madison County this year."[67]

Then during the last week of August 1916, M. C. Gaston of the Hamburg community ten miles northwest of Madison brought to the newspaper office a vial containing three live boll weevils that he had picked off of his long cotton. "Mr. Gaston says that they are eating up his crop and that they will have destroyed at least 2-3 *[sic]* of the total crop of his cotton and of his uncle, J. A. Gaston," said the newspaper.[68] A month later, County Agent D. R. McQuarrie reported that the boll weevils "are all over Madison County. I have been in several fields in every section of the county and they are here prepared to get next year's crop. I question if a farmer can make a crop of long staple cotton next year even if he follows Demonstration instructions as the problem has yet to be worked out in the long staple section." He thought short cotton might be able to survive provided quick maturing varieties were planted early.[69] A subsequent report showed the boll weevil had moved into Florida as far as Alachua and Levy counties.[70]

McQuarrie's earlier optimism about the 1916 crop of Sea Island cotton was justified by the final report of ginnings in 1916. The boll weevil did not severely curtail the crop, and in fact ginnings of all cotton in Madison County totaled 8,055 bales as compared with 6,390 the previous year when there had been a light crop, according to a report in the Madison *Democrat-Recorder* on January 26, 1917.

During the next season, 1917, the boll weevil struck Madison County with full fury. Ginnings fell to 2,300 bales, about one-fourth those of the year before.[71] James E. Hughey, Sr., who had been farming on his own place since 1909 and making a living with four or five acres of long cotton, had experienced success with a crop and had planned to make an even better one. He spread tons of stable manure on his cottonfield, but the boll

67. *Ibid.*, June 2, July 28, 1916.
68. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1916.
69. *Ibid.*, September 29, 1916.
70. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1916.
71. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1918.

weevils got into his cotton. "I didn't make nothing– the boll weevil got all of it," recalls Hughey, who shortly left farming after this disastrous experience and took up carpentry, a trade he followed for the remainder of his working life.[72]

Carl Smith, who had come to Madison County as a two-year-old when his father moved the family from Kansas, and who had seen many an acre produce a bale of long cotton, recalled that he planted his last crop of Sea Island in 1921 on his own farm. The fifteen acres planted in long cotton produced only 750 pounds of seed cotton, which he sold in the seed for seventy-five cents a pound. He and many other farmers grew some Upland cotton alone after long cotton had succumbed to the boll weevil.[73] As James J. Cruce put it: "After the boll weevil came you could still get half a crop with short cotton, but the growing season was so long for long cotton and it took so long to mature that the boll weevil ate it up and stripped the stalks bare."[74] Now, however, there was more emphasis on other crops such as peanuts and tobacco, which began to take hold in Madison County at this time, with production of more oats, cattle and hogs.[75]

In the winter of 1917-1918 a Madison County delegation visited Jackson County where, in the wake of the boll weevil, farmers already had begun to grow peanuts extensively and where there was a new peanut oil mill in operation. The *Enterprise-Recorder* suggested that the Florida Manufacturing Company or the Merchants and Farmers Gin be converted to a peanut oil mill.[76] The Coats interests in March 1918 sold the old ginnery, excluding the ginning machinery from the sale, and the plant became the property of the Producers Company headed by B. F. Williamson of Gainesville.[77] Williamson spent several days in

72. Interview with James E. Hughey, Sr., Madison, September 7, 1973.
73. Interview with Carl Smith, Hanson, June 14, 1973.
74. Interview with James J. Cruce, State Road 360, June 14, 1973.
75. Interview with Carl Smith, Hanson, June 14, 1973; interview with James E. Hughey, Sr., Madison, September 7, 1973.
76. Madison *Enterprise-Recorder*, January 4, 1918.
77. Madison County Deed Record Book 36, pp. 544, 575; Deed Record Book 37, pp. 83, 86; Mortgage Book 29, p. 482. Sale of the plant was made subject to a mortgage of $20,000, payable in three yearly installments in the offices of The Spool Cotton Company of New York City, the American representative of Coats. The mortgage was satisfied in full on October 28, 1918, as attested by the signature of J. William Clark, president of the Florida Manufacturing Company.

Madison during the fall of 1918 arranging for conversion of the plant into a peanut oil mill.[78] It was operated as a peanut oil mill also by another owner, the American Products Corporation.[79] But the Madison plant never was a success after the decline of Sea Island cotton. Eventually some of the buildings were levelled. Governor John W. Martin obtained some of the brick for a house that he built in Tallahassee.[80] After the steam engine with its giant flywheel had stood idle for a time, the engine was put into use at the planing mill of the Weaver-Loughridge Lumber Company at Boyd in Taylor County.[81] B. B. McCall's Madison Ginning Company closed, and McCall moved to the West where he operated the McCall Cotton and Oil Company of Phoenix, Arizona.[82] B. A. Scott's gin near Greenville burned to the ground near the end of the disastrous 1917 season.[83]

East and southeast of Madison, Sea Island cotton was slower in falling victim to the boll weevil, but within a few years long cotton was a thing of the past throughout the belt in the Southeast where it had been grown since before the Civil War. Production dropped, according to one estimate, from 75,000 or more bales in 1915 to less then ten bales in 1925.[84]

During the 1930s there was an effort to revive the industry. In Madison County the enterprise was directed by George D. Smith, an entomologist, and for a time the endeavor appeared to be successful. In 1935 farmers in the county planted 100 acres of long cotton and produced thirty-nine bales, which sold for $3,900. The following year acreage was increased to 400, and there was a further gain in production.[85] Ecological conditions

78. Madison *Enterprise-Recorder,* November 8, 1918.
79. *Ibid.,* February 2, 1923; Madison County Deed Record Book 39, p. 84.
80. Interview with Miss Christine Sasser, Madison, October 6, 1973. Only one of the large red brick buildings of the original complex still stands. A historical marker outside commemorates the site of the big ginnery.
81. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* April 7, 1963. The giant flywheel and engine were given *to* the Madison County Historical Society by the lumber company and these were returned to Madison in 1973. The engine was set up across Range Street from the mill site with a historical marker beside it.
82. Madison *Enterprise-Recorder,* February 18, 1938. McCall returned to Madison a year before his death in 1938.
83. *Ibid.,* November 2, 1917.
84. Paul M. Gilmer, "Control of the Boll Weevil on *Sea* Island Cotton," *Journal of Economic Entomology,* 32 (December 1939), 802.
85. Carlton Smith, "Madison County, Florida, 1933-1936," typescript, Florida State Library, Tallahassee; interview with W. Buford Selman, Madison,

were unfavorable to the boll weevil in those years in Madison and other counties where a revival was attempted, but the insects soon made their appearance. The year 1937 proved a disaster for the 5,000 to 10,000 acres of Sea Island cotton planted in Georgia and Florida. A heavy infestation of weevils in 1938 ended the attempt to revive long cotton.[86] No Sea Island cotton has been planted in Madison County in many years and even Upland now is a memory. Six farms had 104 acres in Upland cotton in 1969 which produced a crop of sixty-nine bales. In 1973 no cotton at all was planted in Madison County.[87]

September 30, 1972. Mr. Selman was an associate of Mr. Smith in a cotton crop reporting service at Madison.

86. Gilmer, "Control of the Boll Weevil," 803, 805.

87. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Agriculture,* I, Area Reports, Part 29, Florida, Section I, Summary Data (Washington, 1972), 320; R. R. Hamrick, County Extension Director, to author, October 9, 1973.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ENTERTAINS BOOKER T. WASHINGTON: FLORIDA'S REACTION TO THE WHITE HOUSE DINNER

by JOHN K. SEVERN AND WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS*

"IT WAS MERELY an incident that had no thought or motive behind it except the convenience of the President."[1] Thus did Booker T. Washington, president of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and the most influential black leader in America, later describe a dinner he attended as the guest of President Theodore Roosevelt in the White House on the evening of October 16, 1901. The Negro educator's account was too subdued an estimate of what became a *cause célèbre* with ramifications that were racial, social, political, and sectional. In the furor that followed the dinner party, citizens of Florida played a part.

In the fall of 1901, Booker T. Washington was in the midst of a speaking tour in Mississippi when he received a telegram from the President asking him to come to the capital for a conference. Washington complied. Arriving on the afternoon of October 16, Washington received an invitation to dine at the White House at eight that evening.[2] The evening was without precedent; no black man had ever before dined at the White House.

Flattered, and permitting himself a measure of cautious elation, Washington accepted the invitation. Present at the dinner were Mr. Roosevelt, his wife, daughter, and three sons, and

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1. Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume I, The Autobiographical Writings* (Urbana, 1972), 445. This volume contains selections from Booker T. Washington, *My Larger Education: Being Chapters From My Experience* (New York, 1911; facsimile edition, Miami, 1969).
2. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., "Dinner at the White House: Theodore Roosevelt, Booker T. Washington, and the South," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, XVII (June 1958), 115; Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making Of A Black Leader, 1856-1901* (New York, 1972), 304-24; Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Theodore Roosevelt and the Art of Controversy: Episodes of the White House Years* (Baton Rouge, 1970), 32-61.

Philip Bathell Stewart, friend and hunting companion of the President. The occasion was low-keyed. Certainly Washington was relaxed. He had at one time or another had tea with Queen Victoria, dined in the same room in Chicago with President McKinley, and had eaten with former-President Benjamin Harrison in Paris.[3] "After dinner," the black leader wrote later, "we talked at considerable length concerning plans about the South which the President had in mind. I left the White House almost immediately and took a train the same night for New York."[4]

The American public learned about the event on October 17, by a two-line press release: "Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee, Ala., dined with the President this evening."[5] Reaction was immediate. For the next several weeks, American newspapers filled their editorial columns with comments, readers wrote letters to the journals, public figures and persons on the street ventured their thoughts. Everyone, it seemed, had an opinion. The event became a classic case of how the reaction to an act can become as important as the act itself.

Some journalists analyzed the President's motives in issuing the invitation; others probed Washington's motives in accepting it. A majority of the commentators, however, based their opinions on emotions stimulated by revitalized racial questions. Not unexpectedly, the biggest stir came from the South. Editorial comment in southern newspapers ranged from restrained approval to horrific disapproval and, on occasion, descended to levels of undisguised racism.

It is significant that Floridians, reacting to the dinner at the White House, proved themselves to be a microcosm of the overall response in the South. The accepted generalization that Florida was never a "typical" southern state, while true, ignores the fact that the state shared many characteristics of the South. Besides their geographical kinship, Floridians shared with other Southerners an antebellum agrarian heritage of slavery and the plantation system. Florida had been a member of the Confederacy and had experienced the difficulties of military defeat and Reconstruction, followed by bitter decades of depression and the

3. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington Papers,* I, 443-44; *Making Of A Black Leader,* 311.
4. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington Papers,* I, 443-44.
5. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* October 17, 1901.

Populist upheaval of the nineties. Floridians in 1900, like citizens of other southern states, were a homogenous people. Florida's population at the turn of the century was 528,542 persons, and of these, 504,710 were native born. Foreign-born persons in Florida between 1890 and 1900 increased at a rate of 3.9 per cent, but the growth rate for native born persons was thirty-seven per cent.[6] In common with the South, Florida's political system was dominated by the Democratic party, an organization whose basic tenet was white supremacy. Like her neighbors, Florida entered the twentieth century by underpinning its segregated social structure with formal statutes. That most white Floridians viewed the bizarre event in Washington in much the same way as other Southerners was not unnatural.

At one level, the relationship between Booker T. Washington and Roosevelt was highly personal. The two men were unquestionably doers, creatures of action; each sprang from a vastly different milieu, yet both had overcome obstacles in achieving prominence. The two men saw in one another qualities they admired: pragmatism, activism, and determination.[7] No less important in their relationship was the political factor. After becoming the chief executive, Roosevelt sought to include Washington among his closest advisors. Looking ahead to the election of 1904, Roosevelt, whose maverick tendencies alarmed party regulars, was not entirely confident of receiving the Republican nomination. In such a situation the President hoped his friendship and political alliance with Washington would win him the support of black delegates to the Republican convention. Because Washington was respected by southern conservative whites, the flamboyant Roosevelt might also make inroads in their ranks. Beyond this, Roosevelt realized that his reputation as an honest politican, his image as a vigorous outdoorsman, and his status as a national hero gained in the Spanish-American War had earned him a position of popularity in the South never accorded a Republican President. By employing Washington's advice for federal appointments in the South, both black and white, Roosevelt hoped to promote good will for himself and extend the strength of his party.[8]

6. *U. S. Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Population,* I (Washington, 1901), xcix, 496.
7. Harlan, *Making Of A Black Leader,* 306-07, develops this point well.
8. *Ibid.*

Washington's role as a presidential advisor did not offend the white South. This was partly because the real extent of his influence was not generally known. The black leader never gave advice unless he was asked, and his counsel was both shrewd and sagacious. At his suggestion, Roosevelt awarded a federal judgeship to Thomas G. Jones, a conservative Democrat and former governor of Alabama. The southern press praised this appointment as bipartisan and statesmanlike.

But the dinner in the fall of 1901 changed attitudes in Florida and the South. The regional honeymoon that had cut across political lines was ended; a new dimension, that of social equality, had been raised. In Florida, as elsewhere in the South, people suddenly faced the issue in bold terms. Regrettably, the dramatic confrontation was at the highest level and issued from the unlikely source of the circumspect Washington and the popular Roosevelt. The initial response of Florida newspapers was to reprint articles from different journals across the country and the South.[9] But Floridians had their own ideas, and it was not long before they expressed them.

On October 26, the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* speaking for the state's white majority, provided a general concensus: the black man would not be denied his legal rights, but he would not be accepted as a social equal. Most Floridians considered President Roosevelt's dinner wrong, first because it actually breached the canon of social segregation and second because of what it implied and portended.[10]

In Florida the motif of social equality soon pervaded most editorial comment. As explained by the Tampa *Morning Tribune,* "Washington is, no doubt, a very respectable negro, the leader of his race, a man whose influence among his people is far *[sic]* their betterment and unlifting *[sic].* But even an educated negro has his place, and it is not at the dining-table of the chief magistrate of the republic."[11] For E. Y. Harvey, a reader of the Jacksonville *Metropolis,* the event was diabolical and like

9. See quotations from the *Indianapolis Sentinel* in Titusville *Florida Star,* October 18, 1901; and New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* Philadelphia *North American, Atlanta Journal, Chattanooga Daily Times, Richmond Dispatch,* Philadelphia *Press,* Philadelphia *Public Ledger and Daily Transcript,* and *New York Tribune* in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* October 21, 1901.
10. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* October 26, 1901.
11. Tampa *Morning Tribune,* October 20, 1901.

a weight dropped in water, would send out concentric circles of evil. The outraged correspondent forecast divine intervention: "Not from Southerners nor Democrats alone do we hear the protest against the President's action, but it is the voice of the American people. Eating at the same table means social equality. Social equality means free right of inter-marriage, and inter-marriage means the degradation of the white race. When the white race yields social equality with the negro it has defied the laws of God, and he will sweep them from the earth."[12]

Most Floridians directed their wrath toward Roosevelt, whose actions they could not fathom. The President had seemed to understand and sympathize with those problems unique to the South; his acts and utterances up to the fateful meal had spurred new optimism among Southerners. Then came the dinner party, and Florida's disappointment was expressed in indignant terms. As the *Ocala Banner* remarked, prior to the event Roosevelt would have received a hero's welcome in Florida, but afterwards he would have been lucky to attract a group of reporters. After all, "Come weal, come woe, the white people of the south must preserve unsullied and untarnished, without spot or blemish, the traditions, the grandeur and purity of their race, despite the carping critics of the world."[13] The *Daytona Gazette-News* agreed with the *Tallahassean and Land of Flowers* that the President had erred profoundly; he had ruined any chance of building up a white Republican party in the South, and he could look elsewhere for votes in the next election. As for the people of the South, the impetuous President, at a blow, had "shattered their confidence and lost their high esteem" by insulting "the womanhood and manhood of this section of the country."[14]

Florida's Governor William Sherman Jennings told a Tallahassee reporter that the act was "unfortunate and unpardonable."[15] Another state official remarked, "The President has made a serious mistake."[16] Philosophical but critical, the *Tallahasseean and Land of Flowers* stated, "No man is free from mistakes. It is human to err. But when a blunder is made that could easily

12. Jacksonville *Metropolis,* October 29, 1901.
13. *Ocala Banner,* October 25, 1901.
14. *Tallahassean and Land of Flowers* quoted in *Daytona Gazette-News,* November 2, 1901.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*

have been avoided, when a man allows a questionable sentiment to lead him into the commission of such an unpardonable error, the great masses will be slow to forgive."[17] The *Miami Metropolis* prefaced its disparaging remarks with regret. The editor found it "somewhat humiliating to have to retract" especially after the journal had praised Roosevelt in the past. But retract the Miami paper did; the President's action, it said, "has made every Southern man and woman blush with shame– because Roosevelt himself is the son of a Georgia lady."[18] That Roosevelt had two uncles who had served the Confederacy received no comment. Either the editor did not know that bit of family history, or, knowing, found it too difficult to reveal.

Continuing the theme, the Tampa *Morning Tribune* lamented that the President had disappointed all Southerners by his totally unjustified act. It quoted a local Republican leader as saying, "The President's action is hard to explain from any standpoint. Whatever may be his views in regard to the social standing of the negro, he surely could not have stopped to consider the effect upon the party's chances in the South."[19] At Titusville, the *Florida Star* reprinted an article from the Jacksonville *Metropolis* which did not believe tradition could be so callously flouted. "There may be fusion between white Republicans and negroes politically," the *Star* remarked, "but neither white Democrats nor white Republicans in the southland will ever fuse with negroes in their homes. That battle has been fought and won."[20]

The Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen* claimed that Roosevelt had endangered the blacks he was supposedly trying to help: "The South is not nueasy *[sic]* for herself-she knows that social equality cannot be enforced on her. . . . There has already been an attempt to force social equality on the South by the bayonet and the law– both failed. The whites of the South suffered while that campaign was pushed, but not so much as the negro. Blind philanthropy has done much evil in the world– blind and deaf love of the negro has injured him in the past, and seems inclined to do something in the future. . . . He

17. *Ibid.*
18. *Miami Metropolis,* October 25, 1901.
19. Tampa *Morning Tribune,* October 22, 1901.
20. Jacksonville *Metropolis,* October 21, 1901, quoted in Titusville *Florida Star,* October 25, 1901.

[Roosevelt] should know that he has done more to lessen Booker Washington's influence for good than if he had refused to socially recognize him– he should know that it would be better for that influence with both races to have refrained from a social invitation."[21]

It was clear from the accounts around the state that white Florida was nearly unanimous in its condemnation of the dinner and its perpetrator. Yet Roosevelt had his defenders, and they quickly came forward. The *Jasper News* explained that critics of Roosevelt were meddling in affairs which did not concern them. An individual's privacy was, or should be, inviolate. "Everybody in this broad land of ours, from the President down to the poorest citizen, has a right to do as he pleases in his own house, so that his conduct is not criminal. His house is his castle and he is the lord thereof. It is his right to choose his associates, to say who shall and who shall not enter his home, and who may and who may not eat with him. If the President wants to dine with Negroes it is his business. If he puts himself on terms of social equality with them it concerns no one but himself."[22] Public acts, another matter altogether, were subject to close scrutiny and criticism. Had Roosevelt appointed blacks to postmasterships like McKinley, or had he sent them to represent the country in embassies abroad like Grover Cleveland, that would be different. "But to attempt to dictate to the President as to how he shall manage the affairs of his own house is an unwarranted piece of impertinence." Doubtless the dinner was a mistake, but it was "his mistake." Should critics attempt to prevent a man from making mistakes, "they have bit off more than they can chaw."[23]

Some Southerners attempted to explain away Roosevelt's action by attributing it to his honest impulsiveness, a trait many Floridians shared and admired.[24] Others, like the *St. Petersburg Times,* lauded his fierce independence and wondered what "sensible person who had observed the history of the man could for one moment suppose that at his own table in the White House, as anywhere and everywhere else, Theodore Roosevelt would not

21. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* October 24, 1901.
22. *Jasper News,* October 25, 1901.
23. *Ibid.*
24. New Orleans *Daily Picayune* quoted in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen:,* October 21, 1901.

do just as he durned pleased? And right down at the bottom of his American heart, what American does not admire him for it?"[25]

Not all Floridians found Roosevelt's character free of flaws. A leading Tampa citizen questioned the luster of his military exploits in Cuba; perhaps the White House dinner was a compensatory gesture for the "negro regiment which saved him from annihilation at San Juan."[26] When this dubious theory appeared in the Tampa *Morning Tribune,* even the Jacksonville *Metropolis,* which had not been generous to Roosevelt, responded sarcastically, "Ah, that's it, eh?"[27]

The rationale that any individual should be free in his private acts seemed a basic right and was endorsed by newspapers in Jasper and Pensacola. That both papers had expressed a minority view, however, was quickly demonstrated. The *Florida Times-Union and Citizen* conceded to any ordinary individual the right to invite Washington to dinner, but Roosevelt, as President, had to take into account the views of the people he represented.[28] The *Miami Metropolis* agreed. The paper, in an acerbic editorial, declared that if "Roosevelt as an individual chooses to associate on terms of equality with the colored brother let him do so, but as President he strikes the Caucasian a blow in the face by inviting any man with a drop of negro blood in his veins to his table."[29]

The episode at the White House inspired in some of its critics some poorly-written poetry. Most of the efforts were in bad taste, and often they were scurrilous. Clarence Douglas Moore set to rhyme a typical expression of disapproval. Sharing it with the readers of the Tampa *Morning Tribune,* it read in part:

> A great White Goat had pasture fair,
> And Big Black Goat appeared 'round there;
> Says Great White Goat, "No color line,
> Come in, my friend, and with me dine."
> So Big Black Goat with greedy look
> Of Great White Goat's repast partook; . . .

25. *St. Petersburg Times,* October 26, 1901.
26. Tampa *Morning Tribune* quoted in Jacksonville *Metropolis,* October 24, 1901.
27. Jacksonville *Metropolis,* October 24, 1901.
28. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* October 24, 1901.
29. *Miami Metropolis,* October 25, 1901.

And know you this, O White Goat race,
I hold it truly no disgrace
To with Big Black Goat sit at meal;
And, more, proud White Goat[s], tell I thee,
I hold Big Black Goat good as me,
And ever when my mind sees fit
I'll let Big Black Goat with me sit."[30]

Roosevelt, like Republican Presidents who had preceded him, hoped to restore respectability and strength to the Republican party in Florida. Yet his ego was balanced by his sense of realism. A substantial showing in 1904 would be sufficient; he did not expect to carry Florida. If the celebrated meal had never taken place, Florida would still have voted Democratic. Humorist Finley Peter Dunne was correct in his analysis of the dinner. Thousands of Southerners who would not have voted for Roosevelt under any circumstances declared that "under no circumstances wud they now vote f'r him. He's lost near ivry state in the South."[31]

Roosevelt's reaction was mixed. Certainly he never made any public apology. "When I asked Booker T. Washington to dinner," he wrote, "I did not devote very much thought to the matter one way or the other. . . . I am very glad that I asked him, for the clamor aroused by the act makes me feel as if the act was necessary."[32] Privately, the President had some second thoughts, particularly when close advisors remarked that the dinner had been an unfortunate affair. Although the White House dinner was not repeated, Roosevelt continued to lean heavily on Washington for advice.[33]

The repercussions from the dinner did not particularly surprise Booker T. Washington. For years afterward he maintained a discrete silence. Washington wrote later that he "constantly refused to discuss [the dinner] in print or in public, though I . . . had a great many requests to do so. At the time, I did not care to add fuel to the controversy which it aroused."[34] For him the dinner was worth the risk, and despite the immediate reaction of anger, Washington benefitted. The dinner afforded an

30. Tampa *Morning Tribune,* October 27, 1901.
31. Quoted in *Harlan, Making Of A Black Leader,* 314.
32. Quoted in *ibid.,* 312-13.
33. Gatewood, *Theodore Roosevelt,* 39-43.
34. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington Papers,* I, 443.

opportunity to silence, at least in part, the rising chorus of black critics who resented his humility in dealing with whites. The act triggered a reaction among the Negro community, even those who had denounced Washington's policy of accommodation, that was immediate and favorable. His position among his fellow blacks was strengthened. White Floridians and white Southerners might resent Washington's part in the dinner, but they generally approved of his politics.

Yet Booker T. Washington did not completely escape censure from Florida's citizens and newspapers. The *Florida Baptist Witness* thought that he should have refused the invitation even at the risk of snubbing the President. This periodical's logic was that by dining with Roosevelt, Washington had violated all that he stood for: social segregation and political aloofness. In the long run, the dinner would prove detrimental to Washington's work.[35] The *Crescent City News* reprinted a *Louisville Courier Journal* article which condemned Roosevelt for making Washington "a red rag to prejudice."[36] The Jacksonville *Metropolis* commented: "Booker Washington lost the golden opportunity of his life in not declining the invitation to dine with President Roosevelt. Booker rather went back on his own advice to his race by accepting."[37] As the black leader had "demolished the president's viands," the Lake City *Citizen-Reporter* noted, "so he demolished his popularity in the South."[38]

Still, while many Florida newspapers were shocked by the dinner, they did not criticize Washington as severely as they did the President. In fact, a number of editors made excuses for Washington, attributing his faux pas to a variety of factors. The *Florida Times-Union and Citizen* carried an article from the *Tuskegee News* edited by a white "native Alabamian," who "cannot be accused of any liking for social equality." The editorial truthfully explained that the dinner was merely a business affair for Washington and that settling important matters over a meal was quite common for him when he went North. In other

35. *Florida Baptist Witness*, XVIII, no. 37, October 30, 1901, microfilm roll 273E, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
36. Louisville Courier-Journal quoted in *Crescent City News*, October 31, 1901.
37. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, October 22, 1901.
38. Lake City *Citizen-Reporter*, October 25, 1901.

words, the affair had been blown out of proportion to its importance. In its own analysis, however, the Jacksonville paper downgraded the importance of the black leader. Whatever Booker T. Washington did would not affect the South; nor would what he did have much effect on his own race. Such a summary was patently inaccurate, but the paper at least took a stand for freedom of individual action. "We cannot see that he has notably advanced the cause of education by this experience, but is this any of our business? He is not responsible to us for his time. It may be that Tuskegee gets along better in his absence; if so, what does it matter where he eats his dinners or his lunches?" In any case, the newspaper placed major blame for the dinner on Roosevelt; that the black educator present happened to be Washington was inconsequential.[39]

The Jacksonville *Metropolis* was less equivocal: "Those who know Booker T. Washington best in the South do not believe he enjoyed his dinner with the President in the White House. It was an honor not sought or wanted by Washington. He does not want any social equality. He is seeking simply to make his race respectable and to command respect by virtue of their honesty, their intelligence and their industry. He is not a negro who presumes, and is reluctant to place himself where his presence might be distasteful or disagreeable to himself or to his white friends"[40] The truth was that Washington's reputation in Florida suffered little as a result of the dinner. While he was being attacked, the *Ocala Banner* came to his rescue; it reminded Floridians in a three-column article of the good that he and his school had done: "Booker Washington and Tuskeegee *[sic]* institute are the south's rebuke to her slanderers."[41]

The controversial event inevitably involved regions as well as personalities, and the carefully banked fires of sectional animosity flamed again. If southern newspapers condemned the dinner, the northern press endorsed the event; both sides seemed trapped in a cycle of acrimony. In an editorial entitled the "Barbarous South," the *Ocala Banner* commented that Northerners had always condemned the region for its "ruffianism" and "barbarism."

39. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, November 6, 1901.
40. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, October 21, 1901, quoted in Titusville *Florida Star*, October 25, 1901.
41. *Ocala Banner*, November 1, 1901.

The typical Northerner willingly supported the Negro no matter what the evidence against him.[42] The *Florida Baptist Witness* was equally strident: "We do not believe in making too much of a mountain out of this Roosevelt-Washington episode," but the paper did not like those critics who were "incapable of impartially viewing Southern opinion on social questions."[43] In reviving sectional prejudices and reducing the issues to their lowest level, editors in both regions may have acted naturally, but they did not enhance the reputation of their craft for responsible reporting.

Since the dinner was not repeated, the passage of time cooled the debate. By the second week of November comment subsided in Florida's newspapers. As the Lake City *Citizen-Reporter* rationally observed, anger was one thing but impulsive action was another. The suggestion that all southern federal office holders should resign in protest would "strike the office holder as carrying resentment entirely too far."[44]

It is possible to measure, at least partially, the significance of the White House dinner for Floridians. For one thing, it gave them something to talk about and to write about. Any erosion of Roosevelt's popularity in the state was only temporary. In the presidential election of 1904, Roosevelt received 1,000 more popular votes than McKinley had in 1900. His percentage of Florida's total vote was 21.2. McKinley's had been 18.4.[45] Washington's prestige among white Floridians was damaged even less. Furthermore, Washington temporarily blunted the assaults of blacks who criticized his conservatism. He managed by a single act to bolster his position among blacks and to maintain his place among whites as their candidate for Negro leadership.

Florida also served as the locale for Booker T. Washington's favorite anecdote concerning the episode. Some weeks after the dinner party, Washington was traveling through Florida. At every station a group of people would get aboard the train to shake his hand. At a little station near Gainesville, a white man "whose dress and manner indicated that he was from the class of

42. *Ibid.*, October 25, 1901.
43. *Florida Baptist Witness*, XVIII, no. 38, November 6, 1901, microfilm roll 273E, P. K. Yonge Library.
44. Lake City *Citizen-Reporter*, November 1, 1901.
45. Allen Morris, comp., *The Florida Handbook, 1973-1974* (Tallahassee, 1973), 542.

small farmers" shook hands cordially and said: "I am mighty glad to see you. I have heard about you and I have been wanting to meet you for a long while."

Washington was pleased by such genuine openness. But he was surprised when the farmer looked him over and added: "Say, you are a great man. You are the greatest man in this country!" Washington protested mildly, but the farmer insisted, shaking his head and repeating, "Yes, sir, the greatest man in this country." Finally, the educator asked what the farmer had against Roosevelt, remarking that he considered the President "the greatest man" in the United States. "Huh! Roosevelt?" came the reply. "I used to think Roosevelt was a great man until he ate dinner with you. That settled him for me."[46]

Booker T. Washington was enormously amused by the exchange. When he passed the story along to Roosevelt, the President also reacted with pleasure. It is not difficult to imagine him squinting his eyes, smacking a closed fist into an open palm, and, baring prominent teeth, exclaiming "Bully!" Or at least, "Capital! Capital!"

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46. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington Papers*, I, 444-45. For more on Washington and press reaction to a later visit by him to Florida, see Arthur O. White, "Booker T. Washington's Florida Incident, 1903-1904," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (January 1973), 227-49.

FORT FOSTER: A SECOND SEMINOLE WAR FORT

by MICHAEL G. SCHENE*

ON NOVEMBER 4, 1836, Major General Thomas Sidney Jesup, recent quatermaster general of the army, was appointed supreme commander in Florida. His orders carried specific instructions to campaign along the Withlacoochee River, occupy the country between this river and Tampa Bay, and establish forts at strategic points in the interior that would ensure safety for the settlers and provide regular supplies for his command.[1]

To implement this policy Jesup thought it necessary to construct several supply depots in the area proposed for the campaign. He immediately began making the necessary preparations for these structures, and just two days after receiving his orders he was pressing the quartermaster general for a master carpenter, twenty other carpenters, and fifty laborers.[2] It may have been at his request that Lieutenant Colonel William S. Foster, on November 9, sent a requisition to Major Isaac Clark, quartermaster at New Orleans, for "50 ford felling axes and as many helves, two cross-cut and two pit saws complete and one set of carpenter's or joiner's tools, oil stone, sawfiles, &c."[3]

At the same time that Jesup was involved in these preparations he was busily scouring the interior for the best sites for the supply depots and other needed fortifications. He must have noticed or have been quickly apprised by his staff that the juncture of the Hillsborough River and the Fort King Road was a

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1. Benjamin F. Butler to Thomas S. Jesup, November 4, 1836, *American State Papers: Military Affairs,* 7 vols. (Washington, 1832-1860), VII, 807.
2. Lorenzo Thomas to Truman Cross, November 6, 1836, Box 308, Quartermaster Consolidated Correspondence File, Records of the Quartermaster General, Record Group 92, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as QCCF.
3. William S. Foster to Isaac Clark, November 9, 1836, Box 308, QCCF.

critical spot. Without some force permanently stationed at this intersection, the Indians could, and probably would, destroy any bridge thrown across the river. This would cut communications with the interior and delay or defeat the campaign. As a supply depot, a fort placed at this spot could conveniently supply troops operating in the dense hammock just to the north, and could be used also by the men fighting to the east and in and around Big Cypress Swamp.

On November 28, 1836, Order No. 18 was issued under his signature and directed that "Lieutenant Colonel Foster with the Infantry, the 3rd Artillery including Captain Lyon's Company, and the Washington City Volunteers, will reestablish Fort Alabama– A strong picket work with blockhouses at the opposite angles will be constructed without delay."[4] Foster wrote Jesup on November 26, telling the general that he had arrived at Tampa with ninety-two men and was "ready for the field," lacking only "transportation and great coats."[5] Foster quickly organized his command. Brevet Major William L. McClintock was to command the 1st Battalion, consisting of three companies of the 3rd Artillery Regiment and Lieutenant Irwin's Company of Washington City Volunteers. The 2nd Battalion, initially led by Captain George Washington Allen and later Major George Birch, incorporated three companies of the 4th Infantry Regiment, Captain Elijah Lyon's Company of the 3rd Artillery, and an unknown number, but believed to be few, of mounted Georgia volunteers. On November 30, 320 strong, they marched out of Fort Brooke and cautiously edged their way north along the Fort King Road.[6] A field of blue, occasionally broken by the civilian dress of a volunteer or the colorful garb of a friendly Indian, they pushed through the dense vegetation, the sandy soil, and the swampy areas toward the Hillsborough River.[7] With each man tightly gripping his favorite musket or rifle they pro-

4. Order No. 18, Army of the South, November 18, 1836, Order Book I, June 9, 1836-February 13, 1837, Jesup's Papers and Books, 1836-1860, "General's Papers and Books," Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives. Hereinafter cited as Jesup Papers.
5. Foster to Jesup, November 26, 1836, Box 9, Jesup Papers.
6. William S. Foster, Order No. 1, January 3, 1837, *Army and Navy Chronicle*, V (August 10, 1837), 106.
7. U. S. Army, *General Regulations for the Army of the United States* (Washington, 1835).

ceeded into enemy territory. The next day, approximately twenty-four miles north of Tampa, they arrived at their destination.

Sentries were immediately posted, work parties were organized, and the various components of the command were alloted specific construction responsibilities. Captain Lyon and his men were directed to erect "Blockhouse No. 1." Captain Allen was assigned the job of building "Blockhouse No. 2" and of cutting most of the logs used in constructing structures. Lieutenant Henry Prince, 4th Infantry, was appointed project engineer, and, he also erected the stockade pickets. The job of building the commissary store, magazine, and the bridge fell to Lieutenant William Wall of the artillery.[8] Having received their assignments, the men quickly began the work, and the forest silence was soon shattered by the sound of heavy axes biting into the pine and cypress trees. The thud of falling trees was occasionally broken by the Cracker twang, the brogue of a recent arrival from Ireland, and the guttural accent of a German immigrant.[9] Indian scouts constantly passed through the camp, perhaps astonished by all the noise.

Weary soldiers, muscles aching from their arduous labor, flopped down in front of their gear, and for those fortunate enough to have tents, a brief respite from the weather was possible. Camp fires were lit, and the smell of brewing coffee combined with the aroma of frying bacon filled the entire area.[10]

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8. Foster, Order No. 1, January 3, 1837, *Army and Navy Chronicle*, V (August 10, 1837), 106. Prince and Wall were recent graduates of West Point, and had received instruction in civil engineering and the erection of field fortifications from Denis Hart Mahan, instructor at the military academy since 1824. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1903), I, 807, 993.
9. The army was a microcosm of the American melting pot during the nineteenth century. Felix P. McGaughy, Jr., "The Squaw Kissing War: Bartholomew M. Lynch's Journal of the Second Seminole War, 1836-1839" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1965), 146; [George Ballentine], *Autobiography of an English Soldier in the United States Army*, 2 vols. (London, 1853), I, 12, 57; Richard Ernest Dupuy, *The Compact History of the United States Army* (New York, 1956), 86-87.
10. The standard ration for a private included: "3/4 of a pound of pork or bacon, or 1 1/4 pounds of fresh or salted beef; also, 18 ounces of hard bread, or 1 1/4 pounds of corn meal. In addition every hundred troops were issued 4 pounds of soap, 1 1/2 pounds of candles, 2 quarters of salt, 4 quarts of vinegar, 8 quarts of peas or beans, 4 pounds of coffee, and 8 pounds of sugar." [Woodburne Potter], *The War in Florida, Being an Exposition of Its Causes and an Accurate History of the Campaigns of Generals Clinch, Gaines, and Scott* (Baltimore, 1836; facsimile edi-

After the evening meal groups of soldiers huddled near the fires to talk, while others scrawled letters to loved ones or friends. Exhausted with yet another full day ahead of them, most of the command soon sought the dubious comfort of their bedrolls, and long before tattoo echoed through the camp the men were sleeping.[11] For all this exertion, hardship, and danger an army private received the meager pay of six dollars a month. A senior officer, on the other hand, received ten times more, a servant, and a liberal travel allowance.[12]

Lieutenant Prince was kept busy supervising the construction of the picket work. Part of his command was detailed to scour the camp area and the woods nearby and to keep a sharp eye out for thick, straight trees. Those selected were felled and the upper branches were removed. The logs were dragged back to camp, or if they were fortunate a log cart, pulled by mules, would bring the denuded tree to the work area. Then the log was split approximately in the middle, placed in a waiting post-hole, and firmly anchored there. Braces, made from scrap lumber, were nailed to the flat inside surface at the necessary points. The top of the log was crudely hacked into a rough, point and holes were cut through each piece about seven or eight feet from the ground. To complete the construction, a shelf was fastened to the palisade, about three feet from the ground, and extended around the inside perimeter of the pickets.[13]

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tion, Ann Arbor, 1966), 135. Officers in the higher ranks received one and one-half rations, or for a major general, five rations. William Addleman Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army* (New York, 1924), 80, 96. Supplies often did not reach their destination, and rations frequently lacked the required items or did not meet official standards. Stanley F. Horn, ed., "Tennessee Volunteers in the Seminole Campaign: The Diary of Henry Hollingsworth," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, I (December 1942), 359; II (June 1943), 167. Some soldiers charged that their rations were stolen by their superiors and subsequently sold to them. McGaughy, "Squaw Kissing War," 22.

11. Tattoo was a notice sounded by the drum, trumpet, or bugle shortly before taps, signifying that the men were to retire to their quarters for the evening.
12. *Niles' Weekly Register*, December 24, 1836; *House Documents*, 24th Cong., 1st sess., no. 198, pp. 2-414.
13. [Potter], *War in Florida*, 98. Potter claimed that "all our forts in this country are so formed." Frank Laumer indicates that the logs were not split, in his discussion of the construction of Fort Dade. His conclusion is apparently not based on any documentary evidence, and represents his own suppositions regarding this work. Frank Laumer, "This Was Fort Dade," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLV (July 1966), 3. Eloise K. Ott states that "split logs" were used to "form walls or pickets." She

Every day Lieutenant Prince could point with pride to the lengthening palisade which eventually enclosed nearly 500 square feet of ground. And he would also fret over joining the pickets with the rapidly emerging blockhouses.[14] The construction was relatively simple and involved chiseling a shallow cut in the log at both ends. They were then piled on each other in a crisscross pattern, forming a loose but sturdy joint. At the desired height the log square was capped with a crude roof. Later, caulking, flooring, and doors rounded out the construction. After completion, these two-story square blockhouses (forty-five feet on each side) provided relatively comfortable quarters in addition to their primary role as sentry posts.[15]

Meanwhile artillery Lieutenant Wall was completing his work. The storehouse or "commissary" was the most important

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cites items in the National Archives, but does not specifically relate that this material was used in reaching her conclusion. Eloise R. Ott, "Fort King: A Brief History," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLVI (July 1967), 29-30. See also Donald L. Chamberlin, "Fort Brooke: A History" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1968), 13-15, 62, although he does not specifically deal with the nature of the pickets. James Barr, *A Correct and Authentic Narrative of the Indian War in Florida, With A Description of Maj. Dade's Massacre, and an Account of the Extreme Suffering, For Want of Provisions, of the Army– Having Been Obliged to Eat Horses' and Dogs' Flesh, &c. &c.* (New York, 1836), 5, mentions that the "whole [Fort Brooke] is surrounded by a strong palisade, with sharp stakes on the top, amply supplied with loop holes for the musketry, and port holes for the cannon."

14. Hand drawn map to scale showing location of Fort Foster, dimensions of perimeter and interior structures, and arrangement of "Camp" used by the force while building the fort. The original is in the possession of William S. Foster, Knoxville, Tennessee; a copy is located at the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Tallahassee, Florida. Hereinafter cited as Foster Sketch.

15. *Ibid.;* Foster to Roger Jones, December 8, 1836, Letters Received by the Adjutant General's Office, 1822-1860, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives Microfilm M567, roll 123, 1836. Hereinafter cited as LRAGO. This pattern of construction, with blockhouses at opposite ends, was evidently quite common in Florida, Late in December 1836, Jesup advised General Walker Armistead, his commander in East Florida, that Colonel Foster had been directed to construct a fort (Armstrong) that "is to be defended by blockhouses at the opposite angles." Jesup to Armistead, December 25, 1836, Letter Book I, September 1836-February 7, 1836, Jesup Papers. This was also the proposed plan at Fort King, although only one blockhouse was built. Ott, "Fort King: A Brief History," 30-31. Jacob Motte, an army surgeon who served in Florida, mentioned that Fort Mitchell (Alabama) "was a square formed by pickets [twelve feet high] with a blockhouse at two diagnonal corners." Jacob R. Motte, *Journey into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field During the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-38,* ed. by James F. Sunderman (Gainesville, 1953), 6.

and the largest interior structure that he had to build. A rectangle (fifteen feet by forty-five feet), it was probably constructed in the same manner as the two blockhouses, and on completion was sufficiently similar to them to be considered by observers as the stockade's third blockhouse.[16] The other interior structure was the magazine. Approximately eight feet by fifteen feet and probably less than ten feet high, it was placed near the picketing at the center of the northeast wall.[17] On December 22, with the fort nearing completion, Colonel Foster and a portion of the work force were transferred to the Withlacoochee to begin the construction of another supply depot. Major McClintock and a little over 100 men from the 3rd Artillery were left to complete the construction and guard the fort and the partially completed bridge.[18]

The first bridge had been constructed in March 1828 by forces under the command of Colonel George Brooke, commander of the troops at Tampa Bay, and had been a permanent and substantial structure. Three trestles, the highest of which was "at least twelve feet above the water," were solidly anchored in the river bottom. Rough planking, possibly made from cypress logs, stretched across the trestles, and on completion, furnished a rough but adequate route over the river.[19] In December 1835, Major Francis L. Dade and his ill-fated party discovered the still smoldering ruins of the bridge, apparently just destroyed by the Seminoles.[20] Colonel William Lindsay, commander of the center wing under General Scott, was obviously hampered by the absence of a bridge at this point, and early in the campaign complained that the "destruction of the bridges [along the Fort King Road] . . . delayed and embarrassed our march." However, at this time he apparently did not find it convenient to rebuild any of them.[21] Wading through the water at the ford just below the

16. Foster Sketch; Horn, "Tennessee Volunteers in the Seminole Campaign," 280; John Erwin's entry for December 19, 1836, "John Erwin's Memoir, 1836," Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.
17. Foster Sketch.
18. Post Returns, December 1835, Jesup Papers.
19. Chamberlin, "Fort Brooke: A History," 23-24; George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1974), 189-90.
20. Frank Laumer, *Massacre* (Gainesville, 1968), 67-68.
21. Lindsay to Scott, April 10, 1836, LRAGO, roll 126, 1836.

burned bridge remained the only way across the Hillsborough River until the structure was rebuilt by Colonel Foster.

If Colonel Foster's rendering of the two bridges is correct and to scale, the new bridge was situated about 700 feet down the river from the original structure. Two trestles can be faintly seen in the drawing, and the viewer receives the impression that this was a sturdy structure capable of safely handling the heavily loaded wagons that would repeatedly use it. In writing to the adjutant general of the army, Foster claimed that the Hillsborough bridge and the one across the Withlacoochee River were "two of the finest bridges in Florida, and in fact, the finest ever built by the Army." He went on later in the same letter to note that "the bridges at each River form a part of the Forts, and are connected with, and defended by, the Fortifications." In closing, he proclaimed, "Twenty-five men will defend either of them against all the Indians in Florida."[22]

Several days before Christmas, commanding general Thomas Sidney Jesup arrived at the Hillsborough post and found that it was nearly completed. He was apparently well satisfied with what he observed and christened the newly-erected post "Fort Foster."[23] Colonel Foster readily concurred with the general on the quality of the fort, and on January 3, being informed by Major McClintock that all of the work, including the bridge, had been completed, he characterized it as "one of the strongest and best field fortifications ever erected (against Indians) on this continent."[24]

Jesup's inspection convinced him that supplies could be sent immediately to Fort Foster, and later the same day (December 23, 1836), he ordered that 50,000 rations and 10,000 bushels of corn be delivered to the post as soon as possible. He further directed that a six-pounder and a howitzer with at least 100 pounds of ammunition for each piece be permanently maintained at the post. Most important, 50,000 ball and buckshot cartridges, with 40,000 rounds of rifle powder and bullets were to be sent to

22. The Hillsborough bridge was ninety feet long and twenty feet wide. Foster Sketch; Foster to Jones, January 26, 1837, LRAGO, roll 141, 1837.
23. Jesup to Butler, December 23, 1836, Letter Book I, September 1836-February 7, 1837; Order No. 26, June 9, 1836, Army of the South, Order Book I, June 9, 1836-February 13, 1837, Jesup Papers.
24. Foster, Order No. 1, January 3, 1837, *Army and Navy Chronicle,* V (August 10, 1837), 106.

Foster. As an afterthought, the general requested that "an ample supply of tools of every description as well as iron, steel, nails, cordage, etc. required for service in the field" be placed at Foster and the other "principal posts in Florida."[25]

As Jesup prepared to take the field he received help from an unexpected source. On December 13, 1836, Commodore Alexander J. Dallas, commander of the West Indies Squadron, sailed into the harbor at Tampa and informed Jesup that he had nearly 400 sailors and marines that could be used by the latter.[26] Several communications passed between the two commanders, and before the end of the month it had been agreed to use the men to garrison the several posts between Tampa and Fort King. On December 24, the general wrote to Dallas and asked him for fifty men to garrison Fort Foster. Four days later Jesup mysteriously concluded that this force would be insufficient and requested that Dallas furnish sixty men.[27]

On January 2, 1837, General Jesup notified the commander at Foster, Major McClintock, that he was being transferred, and directed him to join the forces about to take the field. The major was informed later the same day by Lieutenant Colonel Henry Stanton, adjutant general of the Army of the South that "Lieutenant Leib of the Navy with a detachment of forty seamen moves this morning for Fort Foster. This force together with the two non-commissioned officers and twelve privates, which you were instructed by Order No. 31 to leave at that post, is to constitute until an additional force of marines can be added, its present garrison."[28]

Whatever illusions Lieutenant Thomas Leib may have had about garrison duty were rapidly dispelled as his small force had to repel several attempts by the Indians to storm the fort and burn the bridge. On January 20, he penned an anxious note to Jesup telling him that a band of Indians had fired on a company

25. Order No. 26, June 9, 1836, Army of the South, Order Book I, June 9, 1836-February 13, 1837, Jesup Papers.
26. Alexander J. Dallas to Jesup, December 13, 1836, Letters Received from Officers of the Navy, 1836-1838, Officers of the Volunteers, Box 3, Jesup Papers.
27. Jesup to Dallas, December 24, 28, 1836, Box 13, Jesup Papers.
28. Order No. 32, Army of the South, January 2, 1837, Order Book I, June 9, 1836-February 13, 1837; Henry Stanton to W. McClintock, 3rd Artillery, January 2, 1837, Letter Book I, September 1836-February 7, 1837, Jesup Papers.

of Alabama volunteers who were temporarily camped near the fort. Returning the fire, the Indians scattered, "since which time we have neither seen, nor heard more of them." Three days later the enemy "fired into the fort," Leib wrote Jesup. "The moment they fired, they yelled and departed." The next day, as the navy lieutenant recounted the events, "they were heard to yell in the hammock . . . but I thought it more prudent to keep within the Fort, as my force is small."

After this episode an unknown number of Indians remained near the fort, and gave the command "some occasional annoyance," Leib reported. On February 3 the Indians became more aggressive and tried to burn the Hillsborough bridge. "The discharge of one of our field pieces, and a volley of musketry, put them to flight not however without returning the charge."[29] On receiving this missive, the commander at Fort Brooke, Marine Colonel William S. Miller, dispatched Jim Boy, a friendly Indian, and 100 marines to aid Lieutenant Leib, if necessary.[30] Perhaps this show of force convinced the Seminoles to abandon their siege. At least Leib did not report any further incidents.

While all this Seminole mischief was taking place, supply trains, heavily guarded, continued to travel along the Fort King Road and regularly deposited rations, arms, and ammunition at Fort Foster. The men must have been agreeably surprised when the usual supply wagons arrived, and after unloading the alloted supplies, they were presented with several kegs of whiskey, compliments of the major general.[31]

Before taking to the field Jesup stressed the importance of adequate supplies to Lieutenant John C. Casey, subsistence officer at Fort Brooke, and urged him to send the needed rations to the interior posts as quickly as transportation could be found.[32] The convoys, he wrote to Major Truman Cross, were to consist of "ten or twenty light waggons . . . drawn by two horses, the bodies of which would be water tight. . . . The waggons are of

29. Thomas L. Leib to Jesup, January 20, 24, February 4, 1837, Letters Received from Officers of the Navy, 1836-1838, Officers of the Volunteers, Box 3, Jesup Papers.
30. William S. Miller to Jesup, February 8, 1837, Letters Received from Officers of the Navy, 1836-1838, Officers of the Volunteers, Box 3, Jesup Papers.
31. Jesup to John C. Casey, January 2, 1837, Letter Book I, September 1836-February 7, 1837, Jesup Papers.
32. *Ibid.*

the description denominated Dearborn"[33] Lieutenant Colonel Miller was assigned the duty of guarding the convoys that regularly supplied the forts along the Fort King Road. He was also responsible for the security of the posts between Fort Brooke and Fort King.[34]

The forces at Foster were apparently severely reduced for some unknown reason, but perhaps because a truce had been arranged on February 3 to last until February 18. By the end of the month only a remnant of the original command was still at the post. On February 28, Lieutenant Leib reported that the following men, including civilians, were attached to his command at the fort: "One blacksmith, one carpenter, two Georgia volunteers, one who had his leg amputated; the other his attendant, one canter *[sic]* hired man, twelve marines, including one sergeant and one corporal, two men from Company D, 3rd Artillery, one man from Company D, 4th Artillery, two sergeants from Company C, Marine Corps, and one private."[35]

By the end of February the men at Foster believed that the war might be drawing to a close. The general, according to wagoners and returning troops, had arranged to meet the Seminoles at Fort Dade on February 18. Jesup and the principal chiefs, it was hoped, were going to confer on terminating the war and executing the removal treaty. There were many rumors, but nothing official. Then the Hillsborough post heard that the Seminoles had agreed to leave Florida and would present themselves at a designated place by April 10, 1837.[36] The news, it can be assumed, was received with great jubilation by the command at Foster.

As the army was slowly withdrawn from the field, it became feasible for Jesup to replace the navy personnel and marines at Foster and elsewhere with regular army units. He began to do so before the end of March and on the twenty-second, he informed the Hillsborough commander that the forces from the Concord were being relieved. Jesup also sent a short note to Captain

33. Jesup to Cross, July 31, 1837, Box 14, Jesup Papers.
34. Order No. 34, Army of the South, January 8, 1837, Order Book I, June 9, 1836-February 13, 1837, Jesup Papers.
35. Muster Roll, February 1837, Box 16, Jesup Papers.
36. T. B. Linnard, aide-de-camp to S. B. Richardson, March 9, 1837, Letter Book III, February 7, 1837-May 8, 1837, Jesup Papers; John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War* (Gainesville, 1967), 200.

M. Mix, commander of the *Concord*, praising Lieutenant Leib for his zeal and devotion to duty. The same day the general advised Brevet Major Richard Augustus Zantzinger, 2nd Artillery, that he was being assigned to the Hillsborough post, and with a detachment of artillery, the major was ordered to take command there the following day.[37] He arrived March 24, and eight days later he reported the strength of his command to his superiors.

The garrison was composed almost exclusively of artillery personnel, or as they were more commonly known in the field, the "red-legged infantry." Seven companies were detailed to the fort, including Companies E, F, I of the 1st Artillery Regiment, and Companies A, B, G, H of the 2nd Artillery. One captain, one first lieutenant, two non-commissioned officers, and one marine corps private completed the garrison. The major's records show that 305 men had been assigned to Foster, although he indicated that only 180 were present. Nearly half the command was missing; the records note that they were either on "detached service, furlough," or as in all armies, "absence without leave."[38] On March 25 the men learned that twenty-five Indians had been assigned to the fort and were to supply the command with game.[39] The thought of fresh meat must have been an appealing prospect for the soldiers.

The expansion of the forces at Foster indicated the strategic importance that Jesup attached to the post. Under the terms of the capitulation signed on March 6, the Seminoles had agreed to move south of the Hillsborough River by the first part of April. Situated squarely on the designated line, the troops at Fort Foster must have been detailed to scour the surrounding countryside and round up any reluctant or recalcitrant bands of Indians that they might find. Troops at Foster also had the unpleasant duty of enforcing Order No. 79, forbidding Floridians or other whites from entering the territory south of an imaginary line

37. Jesup to Leib, March 22, 1837; Jesup to M. Mix, March 22, 1837, Letter Book III, February 7, 1837-May 8, 1837, Jesup Papers.
38. Post Returns, March 1837, U. S. Army Command/Returns from United States Military Posts, 1800-1916, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives Microfilm M617, roll 1510. Hereinafter cited as USAC/RUSMP. The term "red-legged infantry" is derived from the red stripe that was sewn on the outer seam of each trouser leg.
39. W. A. Chambers, aide-de-camp, Jesup to R. A. Zantzinger, March 25, 1837, Letter Book III, February 7, 1837-May 8, 1837, Jesup Papers.

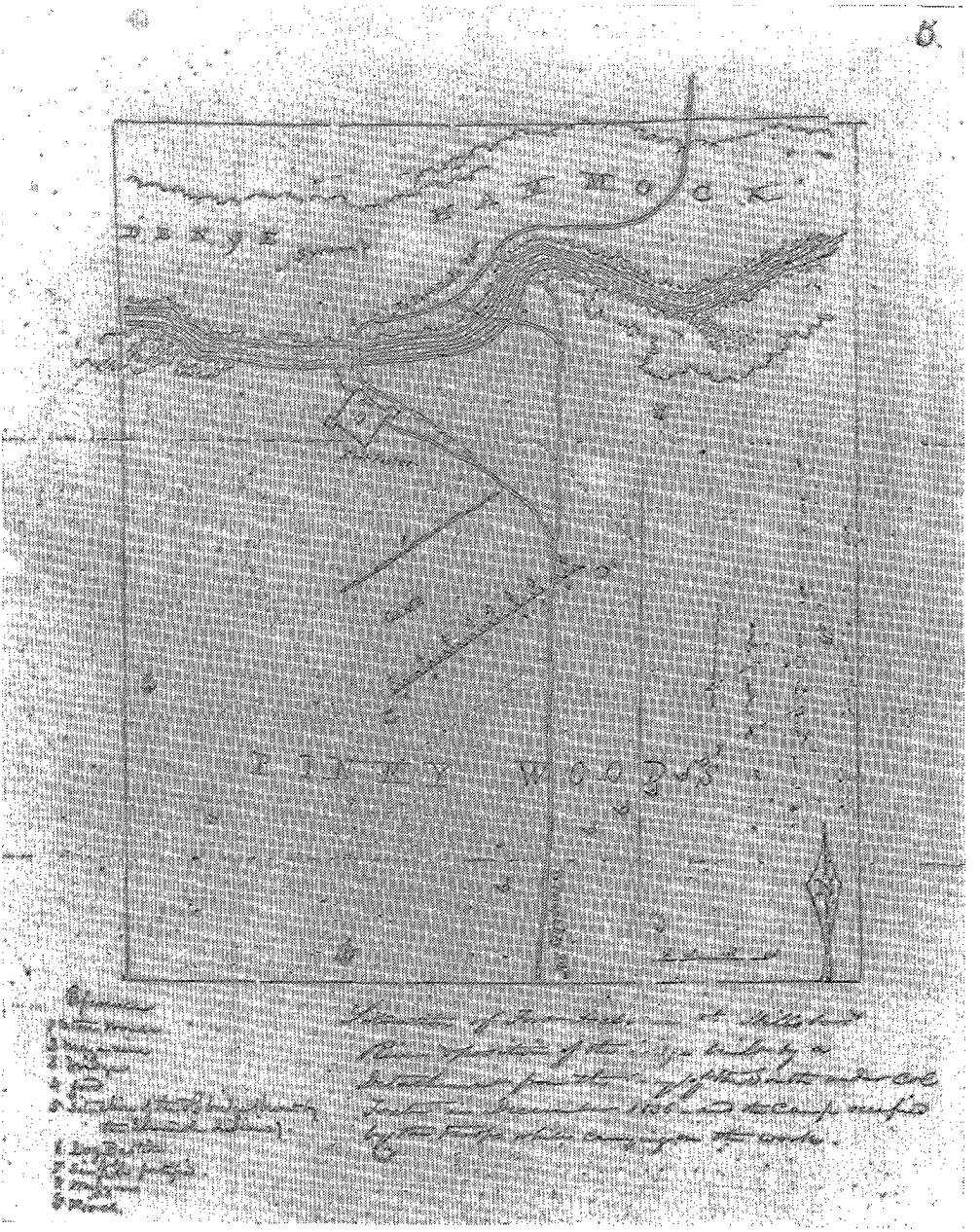
from Foster to the Atlantic Ocean. Of course, their primary role was still to guard the fort and bridge.[40]

Even with only part of the assigned troops present at the post, it was impossible to accommodate them within the fort, and consequently, as Major Zantzinger later wrote, "most of the companies were encamped outside, rendering it necessary that comfortable and durable palmetto sheds should be erected over the tents of officers and men, as well as over those occupied as hospitals, and in. which public property was stored."[41] On completion these quarters must have been a welcome refuge for the 181 men who assisted in their construction. Yet, surely, they must have been envious of their 118 comrades who were absent from the post during the same time.[42] Perhaps to compensate those who were detained at the post, and also to expedite the construction of the needed quarters, the major eliminated all unnecessary drill and inspections, and only retained a perfunctory daily roll call.[43]

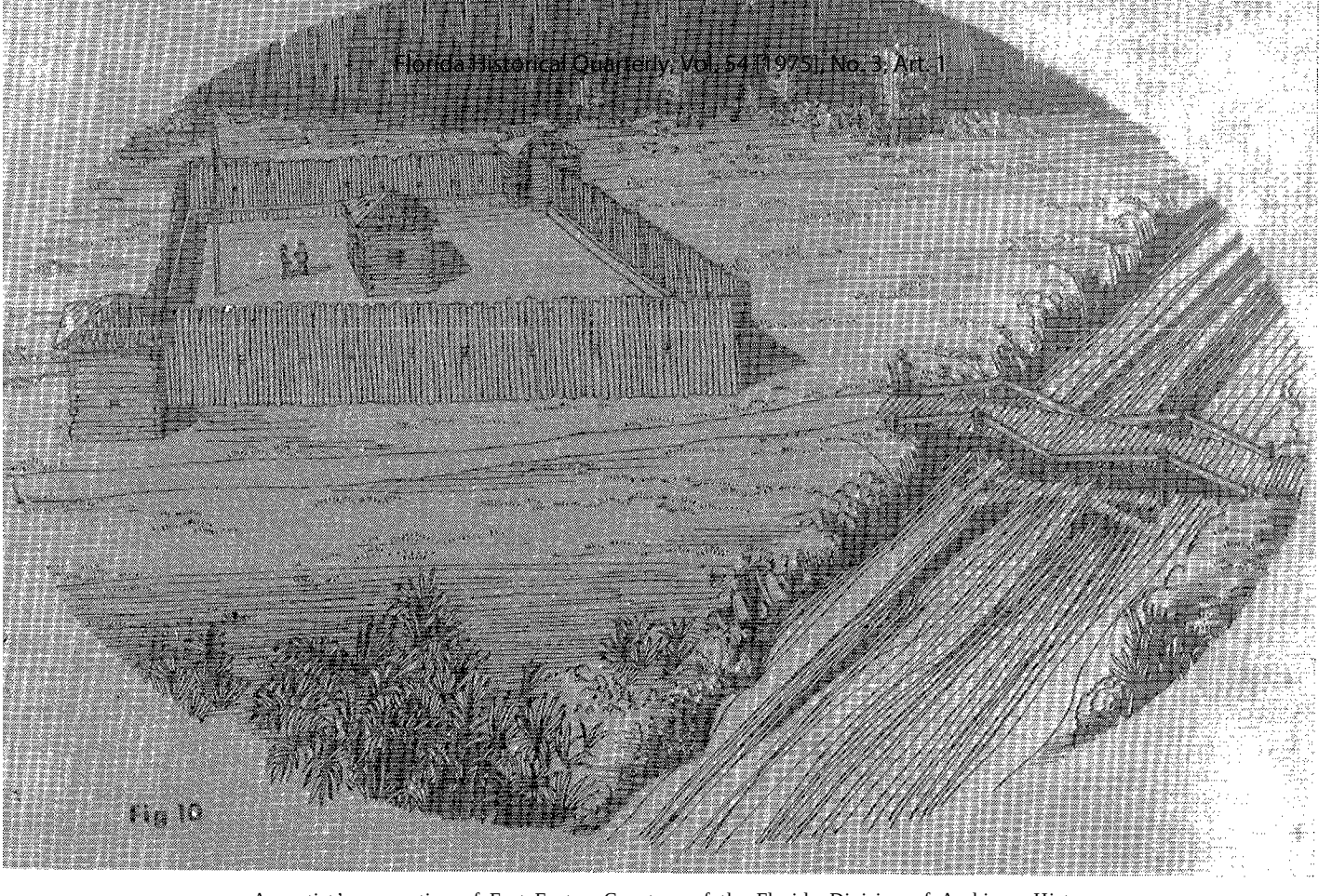
By April, at least, the troops at Foster began to be adversely affected by the unhealthy conditions to which they had been subjected since entering Florida, and which were especially pronounced at the Hillsborough site. Dr. Baldwin, assistant surgeon, bitterly complained about the rising incidence of illness and disease at the post, and wrote a long discourse on the reasons for it, which he attached to his April medical report:

> By comparing this, with my last report, it will be seen, that the number taken sick has been very much increased. This is not surprising when we consider the number of causes conspiring to render this post unhealthy. In addition to [being in] the vicinity of the river, we are surrounded by marshes, which when exposed to the sun, must be a fruitful source of

40. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 200-02.
41. Zantzinger to J. Macomb, July 8, 1837, LRAGO, roll 157, 1837.
42. Post Returns, April 1837, USAC/RUSMP. These records show little change in the command from March. The only change was that Marine Captain Macumber and his six men departed from the post sometime during the month.
43. Zantzinger to Macomb, July 8, 1837, LRAGO, roll 155, 1837. According to John T. Sprague, captain in the 8th Infantry Regiment, the harsh conditions found at most Florida posts discouraged strict military discipline among officers and men. Frank L. White, Jr., ed., "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles: John T. Sprague's Journal, Kept during April and May, 1839," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXV (October 1956), 149; McGaughy, "Squaw Kissing War," 175.



Colonel William S. Foster's sketch of the fort and the construction area.



An artist's conception of Fort Foster. Courtesy of the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management.

> miasmatic inhalations. The clearing of the Hammock without any other cause, will of itself be sufficient to produce disease; for example it has afforded a quantity of vegetable matter for decomposition, at the same time it has exposed a large boggy surface to the action of the sun. Whenever it rains, the pickets are overflowed and the tents of the Soldiers are flooded with water; and when this is succeeded by a hot sun new cases of Dysentery or Diarrhea invariably occur. Some of which are very violent. But independent of the usual diseases of the climate there is a tendency to the prevalence of scurvy. Although I have only reported two cases, yet they are of a very malignant character. . . . From a review of the above remarks I would suggest the propriety of abandoning this post as Early as possible.[44]

Dr. Baldwin probably thought it needless to mention that poor food, inadequate sanitation facilities, and contaminated drinking water added to what was increasingly becoming an intolerable situation.

When his first request apparently went unheeded, Baldwin wrote directly to the medical director for the Army of the South, Dr. J. A. Kearney, on May 9: "The number of sick has been progressively increasing, and from the violent character of some recent cases we have reason to fear the approach of a serious epidemic." The letter ended with a request that Kearney order the evacuation of the post or suffer the consequences. Zantzinger agreed with his physician and also sent a note to Kearney on May 9, asking that the post be abandoned, or reduce the garrison to a minimum.[45]

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44. Monthly returns of the sick at Fort Foster for the month of April 1837, Jesup Papers.
45. J. H. Baldwin to J. A. Kearney, May 9, 1837; Zantzinger to Kearney, May 9, 1837, Letters Received from Officers of the Infantry and Other Branches, Box 9, Jesup Papers. The unhealthy conditions found in Florida and the prevalence of illness and disease are commented upon by almost every contemporary. See Horn, "Tennessee Volunteers in the Seminole Campaign," 350, 359-60; Nathan S. Jarvis, "An Army Surgeon's Notes on Frontier Service, 1833-1848," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* (September 1906), 276, 279; McGaughy, "Squaw Kissing War," 58, 71; Motte, *Journey into Wilderness,* 25; John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 257, 526-29. The most frequent maladies developed by Florida troops were "Disease contracted in Florida, Disease unknown, Diarrhea, Dysentery, and Congestive Fever." These were also the diseases that were most frequently cited in the fatality reports. During the entire war, only 194 men died on the field of battle or from wounds incurred in battle, while 1,468 men

Foster, of course, was not the only interior depot plagued by sickness and disease. And General Jesup must have been sensitive to the suffering that he actually saw, or was reported to him by post commanders and staff officers. At the same time his thoughts increasingly centered on the possibility that the Indians would not honor the March agreement. His correspondence throughout April was punctuated with anxious queries to his staff at Tampa. How many Indians were daily arriving at Fort Brooke? Would other warriors follow their example and leave the peninsula peacefully? As the replies remained negative he began to doubt the sincerity of the Seminoles to abide by the agreement. His official dispatches, however, remained optimistic, and it was not until the first part of May that his public statements reflected his private posture. On May 8, he first broached the subject to the adjutant general of the army, although he still maintained that the "Indians will all come in and immigrate in the course of the summer." The next day, however, he sent a different letter to Navy Captain Thomas Crabb, commander at Fort Brooke. "I am confident," he wrote, "that the war is over, and that the Indians, though they may not be readily assembled for immigration, will not renew hostilities." He finally announced his worst fears to General Roger Jones the next month. In a note to the adjutant general on June 5, he wrote: "I have the honor to report that this campaign, so far as relates to Indian emigration, has entirely failed."[46]

While all this was taking place, Dr. Baldwin was posting his indignant and dire notes to the hierarchy in Florida. Yet even he must have been surprised when his communication of May 9 was answered. the next day with a note addressed to Major Zantzinger: "The increasing sickness amongst the troops of your command as reported by yourself and the medical officer, Dr. Baldwin, has induced the Commanding General to decide on their removal to some more healthy position, except a garrison of about sixty men and the necessary officers for Fort Foster."

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died from non-combat related diseases. U. S. Quartermaster's Department, *Record of Officers and Soldiers Killed in Battle and Died in Service During the Florida War* (Washington, 1882), 13-56. Photocopy negative obtained from National Archives at P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

46. Jesup to Jones, May 8, 1837; Jesup to Thomas Crabb, May 15, 1837; Jesup to Jones, June 5, 1837, LRAGO, roll 144, 1837.

Appropriately, and also perhaps to absolve himself of any further responsibility for the welfare of the men at the post, Jesup ordered Major Zantzinger and Baldwin to find a site suitable for the temporary encampment of the men.[47]

Baldwin had seemingly anticipated Jesup's order and had already scouted the surrounding countryside for alternate posts. When the general's letter reached Foster on May 12, Baldwin presented his findings to the post commander, and after a hasty inspection of the site, he agreed to recommend it to the general. Two days later the two officers notified Jesup of their decision; the point they recommended was situated on a rise at Lake Thlonotosassa about seven miles south of Foster.[48]

Jesup replied on May 15. He had no objection to the site, and he ordered the garrison to move there as soon as possible. The post must not be abandoned, however, and he ordered Major Zantzinger to detail fifty men to remain on guard duty at Foster. Two days after receipt of his orders, Major Zantzinger and 167 soldiers marched out of the fort and down the Fort King Road toward their new home. Lieutenant Erastus A. Capron of the 1st Artillery Regiment, the new post commander, and seventy-one men from the same regiment watched their comrades from the 2nd Artillery Regiment disappear down the road. Those remaining must have loudly cursed Jesup, Zantzinger, and any officer who readily came to mind.[49]

Jesup finally decided to abandon the post on June 12, and he posted the necessary order to Lieutenant Capron the same day. Five days later his correspondence with the adjutant general of the army reflected that he had decided to take the same action at the Thlonotosassa camp. Within a few days both commands had left their respective posts, heading south for Fort Brooke and for some, a welcome leave or transfer.[50] Jesup's decision to

47. Chambers to Zantzinger, May 10, 1837, Letter Book IV, May 9, 1837-July 10, 1837, Jesup Papers.
48. Zantzinger and Baldwin to Jesup, May 14, 1837, Box 7, Jesup Papers.
49. Order 104, Army of the South, May 15, 1837, Order Book II, February 9, 1837-May 12, 1838; Chambers to Zantzinger, May 19, 1837, Letter Book IV, May 9, 1837-July 10, 1837, Jesup Papers; Post Returns, May 1837, USAC/RUSMP.
50. Jesup to Joel R. Poinsett, June 15, 1837; Jesup to Jones, June 17, 1837, Letter Book IV, May 9, 1837-July 10, 1837; Orders 124 and 129, June 12, 19, 1837, Army of the South, Order Book II, February 9, 1837-May 12, 1838, Jesup Papers. Jesup to Jones, June 24, 1837, *American State Papers: Military Affairs,* VII, 839.

remain in Florida insured that Fort Foster would be used again as a supply depot.

Jesup had reluctantly accepted the assignment in Florida when it was first offered to him in 1836. Supply problems, personnel shortages, and Indian perfidy all conspired, he thought, to defeat his campaign. After publicly proclaiming this fact, he privately wrote military officials in Washington and vaguely suggested that he be relieved from any further duty in Florida. A letter giving Jesup this option was drafted and sent to him on June 22. It arrived though after Jesup had been stung by a barrage of criticism, from prominent citizens and important government officials. A resignation at this time, he probably felt, would be considered by many as a tacit admission of the truth of these charges. A successful campaign, however, would silence these critics, and perhaps earn their admiration. So he refused the offer, and the requests of Generals Gaines and Scott for the Florida assignment were rejected.[51]

With all active operations against the Seminoles suspended during the summer, Jesup immersed himself in the preparations for a fall campaign. These details, he wrote General Jones, must be attended to quickly, so that the army could be ready to take the field by October 1.[52] On June 11, 1837, he wrote a long letter to Captain George H. Crosman, senior assistant quartermaster for the Army of the South, telling him in detail what would be required for the coming campaign:

> Light covered ponton-wagons, for four mules– straight bodies; to be made water tight, like those used by Col. Dodge's Dragoons in Arkansas and Missouri in 1833 and '36. Light travelling forage and tool wagons, for two horses each. . . . Tarpaulins of all sizes, from 10 to 30 feet square; for covering supplies at depots, &c. 100 dray ropes– 30 feet long– of one inch rope untarried *[sic]*. 1,000 sheep skins– in the wool; to be used instead of saddle blankets. Large quantities of Indian or Spanish rawhide packing rope, halters, and larritts *[sic]*. Parched cornmeal, or corn flour– firm and coarse– carefully put up in stout linen sacks, of convenient sizes for transportation and use– say from half a peck to two pecks each. Indian pouivican or fresh portable soup, if it can be made in suf-

51. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 204-05.
52. Jesup to Jones, June 5, 1837. Letter Book IV, May 9, 1837-July 10, 1837, Jesup Papers.

> ficient quantities– if not– fresh beef. A corps of teamsters . . . veterinarians. . . . Forage– hay and oats.[53]

Other letters were also sent to specialists soliciting their opinions on many of the items that Jesup proposed to use in his operation. Captain Julius A. de Lagnel, a ranking ordnance officer, was queried on the possible use of various cannon in Florida. He replied that a modified mountain howitzer was the "only gun upon which you can really rely in the approaching campaign. 24 pound howitzers and even the 6 pound field guns are quite useless in the interior of Florida." Colonel George Bomford, the ordnance chief, was regularly pressed for various ordnance supplies. On September 22, in response to an earlier request by Jesup, Bomford sent him a traveling forge and eleven twelve-pounder mountain howitzer carriages. The ordnance officer was also kept busy scouting the country for the many muskets and rifles, not to mention the ammunition, required for these weapons that Jesup constantly requisitioned.[54]

As the weather began to cool, Jesup prepared to put his army into the field. His strategy reflected the thinking of General Winfield Scott, although he hoped to avoid Scott's mistakes. The army, which eventually swelled to over 4,000 men, was separated into seven columns. Each force, operating autonomously, was ordered to search a designated area as it penetrated the interior. The enemy was to be engaged, if possible, but Jesup expected that the Seminoles would retreat before the advancing columns. Finally, caught in this net, the Seminoles would be forced to fight or surrender.[55] This plan, the former quartermaster general realized, depended on keeping his army in the field throughout the campaign. Supply depots, situated at strategic points in the interior, would be necessary, the general concluded, to ensure that the troops received needed rations and equipment.

In October the Florida commander began to specify the posts that would be needed at once by his army. Among these was Fort Foster. On October 23, 1837, Jesup, writing from St. Augustine, ordered Lieutenant Colonel Alexander R. Thompson to send

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53. Jesup to George H. Crosman, June 11, 1837, Box 10, Jesup Papers.
54. de Lagnel to Jesup, August 5, 1837; George Bomford to Jesup, September 12, 29, 1837, Jesup Papers.
55. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 219-20.

fifty men from the Second Artillery to Fort Foster.[56] Six days later Brevet Major Francis S. Belton, Second Artillery Regiment, was ordered (Order No. 19) to garrison the Hillsborough post. Ten dragoons were detailed to the fort and were to patrol the surrounding countryside. The fort defenses were strengthened by the arrival of two six-pounders.[57] Belton and his men were to support the soldiers under the command of Colonel Zachary Taylor, commander of a broad zone that encompassed Forts Foster, Brooke, Gardiner, and Bassinger, the latter two built near the Kissimmee River.[58]

In an effort to mitigate the harsh conditions of garrison life in Florida, Jesup appointed sutlers for several of the forts in the territory. On October 25, two days after the first order to re-establish the fort was sent, Joseph Burr was notified by an aide-de-camp to General Jesup that he was authorized to sutle for the posts of Fort Foster and Fort Dade. He was also permitted to open a store at Tampa.[59] Every so often his heavily laden wagon would arrive from Fort Brooke, and a brief respite from the boredom of post life would be afforded as the garrison inspected his wares. Usually, however, the men were not interested in the sutler's dry goods; they hoped that his wagon contained whiskey. While the sale of liquor to soldiers was expressly forbidden, the demand and corresponding margin of profit prompted sutlers and everyone else to engage in this illegal traffic. But the penalties for those who were caught were severe and sometimes degrading. Private Bartholomew Lynch of the Dragoons describes one such incident:

> The Capt. of a small craft, his mate and one hand [were] most ignominous[ly] paraded through[ou]t the military quarters here for (I am told) selling and smugling *[sic]* rum into this port. They are this moment before me with a yoke through a heavy log of wood on their necks. One log for the three, empty bottles (the officers keep the full ones) tied dangling

56. Jesup to A. R. Thompson, October 23, 1837, Letter Book VI, August 11, 1837-November 5, 1837, Jesup Papers.
57. Order No. 19, Army of the South, October 29, 1837, Orders Received and Letters Sent, 1834-1838, 2nd Artillery Regiment, Records of United States Regular Army Mobile Units, 1821-1942, Record Group 391, National Archives.
58. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 219, 220.
59. Linnard to Joseph Burr, October 25, 1837, Letter Book VI, August 11, 1837-November 5, 1837, Jesup Papers.

> to the beams, two drummers and fifers preceding them striking up the Rogues march, a party of the guard in their rear with fixed bayonets, the persecuted sailors seem to enjoy the spectacle of their own degradation more than any other that[ ]s looking on.[60]

Even this burlesque entertainment was seemingly denied the small garrison at Foster, and Major Belton's monthly report for December 1837 showed that they were engaged in routine affairs. As the year ended they learned that Colonel Taylor had engaged several hundred of the enemy near Lake Okeechobee. The men must have derived some solace from their exile along the Hillsborough River after hearing that the Indians had killed twenty-six and had wounded 112 of Taylor's men.[61]

Meanwhile in the eastern part of Florida, the new year found the commanding general winding his way down the St. Johns River. On January 18, 1838, he made contact with Taylor's wing near the latter's recent battleground. Other elements of his army were also operating in the southern part of the peninsula, although the only significant encounter occurred on January 24 near the Lockahatchee River. The failure of his army to corral the Seminoles prompted Jesup to arrange another truce.

On February 8, Jesup again met with the principal chiefs. He

60. McGaughy, "Squaw Kissing War," 129. The sutler was the predecessor of the modern post exchange. Winfield Scott was the first general officer to detail regulations for the sutlers. The most important provision stated that credit could be granted by the sutler to a soldier for only one-half of his monthly pay. As elsewhere, however, this regulation was disregarded regularly. Dupuy, *Compact History of the United States Army,* 87-88, 159. Gambling, women, and liquor attracted some of the Florida trooper's money and leisure time. Of the three, probably a disproportionate share was spent on liquor. Almost every writer makes some reference to the excessive drinking that he witnessed in the field. See McGaughy, "Squaw Kissing War," 20; Motte, *Journey into Wilderness,* 275; Reynold M. Wik, "Captain Nathaniel Wyche Hunter and the Florida Indian Campaigns, 1837-1841," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXIX (July 1960), 72.

61. Belton indicated fifty-seven men were present at the post during this month; the total force, he stated, numbered sixty-four soldiers. The troops were drawn from the 2nd Artillery Regiment, Company B, and included a small detachment of the 2nd Dragoons. Post Returns, December 1837, USAC/RUSMP. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 226-30. The 2nd Regiment of Dragoons, a mounted force, was organized in 1836 specifically for duty in Florida. John D. Hostetter, "The Second Dragoons and American Expansion, 1836-1861" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1964), 7-38. See also Theo. F. Rodenbough, *From Everglade to Cañon with the Second Dragoons, (Second United States Cavalry.)* (New York, 1875).

agreed to ask the government to allow the Seminoles to remain in southern Florida. The Seminoles promised to camp near the army while they waited for a reply from Washington.[62] With the army several hundred miles away, the temporary peace further reduced the duties of the garrison at Foster. And they must have wondered aloud why they had to remain at this desolate site.[63] Approximately one month later the administration sent Jesup a sharp note rejecting his suggestion in unequivocal terms. He quickly dispatched Colonel David Twiggs of the Second Dragoons to the Seminole camp, and without firing a shot, Twiggs and his men captured over 500 Indians. Needless to say, the war was renewed, and the army again began the arduous task of scouring the countryside for hidden bands of Seminoles.[64]

For the men at Foster the news was disheartening, although the possibility of an Indian attack must have been a relief from the boredom of the truce period. With the Indians active throughout the peninsula the garrison was kept busy supplying the troops passing through the area. In April the garrison was surprised to learn that General Jesup had been relieved in Florida, and the hero of the Battle of Okeechobee, Brigadier General Zachary Taylor had been selected to replace him.[65] On May 15, 1838, shortly before his departure, Jesup recommended to the new commander that "before the approach of the sickly season the garrisons of Fort Dade and Fort Foster be withdrawn. Neither of these posts . . . can be occupied after the 1st of June without great danger to the health of the troops."[66]

Taylor apparently agreed and by the end of the month the

62. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 231-35.
63. Belton's returns from January 1838 show little change in the strength of the garrison during this month. Fifty-four men were listed as being present, and ten were listed as absent. The major reported that a detachment of Georgia volunteers from Captain Willis Bobo's Company, commanded by a Lieutenant Hillhouse, arrived at the post on January 1 and left on the seventeenth. Belton's returns for February showed fifty-three men present and nine absent. Sometime during this month, the few soldiers from the 2nd Dragoons departed from the post. The garrison was then composed entirely of soldiers from Company B, 2nd Artillery. Post Returns, January and February 1838, USAC/RUSMP.
64. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 237-38.
65. *Ibid.*, 239. Belton's returns for March show fifty-three men of the 2nd Artillery present at the post during this month; his records reflected that seven of the command were absent during this same period. Post Returns, March 1838, USAC/RUSMP.
66. Jesup to Zachary Taylor, May 15, 1838, Letter Book, May 8, 1838-July 19, 1849, Jesup Papers.

post had been abandoned.[67] It remained without a garrison throughout the rest of the year. It was reoccupied in September 1849, when it appeared that the Seminoles might be preparing again for war. The crisis quickly subsided, and before the end of the month, the garrison was withdrawn.[68]

67. Post Returns, April 1838, submitted by William Warren Chapman, 2nd Artillery, USAC/RUSMP.
68. Post Returns, September 1849, submitted by Richard H. Ross, 7th Infantry, USAC/RUSMP. His records show that the garrison was composed of men from Company D, 4th Infantry, Company D, 7th Infantry, Company I, 6th Infantry; in all, sixty-seven soldiers.

CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF COLONEL DAVID LANG

edited by BERTRAM H. GROENE*

DAVID LANG was born in Camden County, Georgia, in 1838, the oldest son among Robert and Margaret Lang's seven children.[1] Earlier his father had lived in Nassau County, Florida. After graduating from Georgia Military Academy in Marietta in 1857, Robert Lang returned to Florida with his family, settling near White Springs, where his son David became surveyor for Suwannee County.[2]

Florida seceded from the Union in January 1861, and immediately military units began forming across the peninsula. On April 2, 1861, David Lang enlisted for twelve months as a private in Captain Myers's troop of Gainesville Minutemen, later Company H of the 1st Florida Regiment.[3] He was sworn in at Houston, a small railroad hamlet near White Springs.

The 1st Florida was initially stationed in Pensacola, and there it remained, observing Fort Pickens, for almost a year. While there, Lang rose in rank to first sergeant under General Patton Anderson. It was at Pensacola, also, that he probably engaged in his first battle. In the darkness of October 8 and the following morning, a Confederate force, including the 1st Florida, made a fruitless attack on the outposts of Fort Pickens which was held by a small Federal force.

In the spring of 1862 the 1st Florida began moving northward, and it was while it was passing through Montgomery, Alabama, on April 2, that Sergeant Lang's enlistment expired.

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1. U. S. Census Office, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, original returns on microfilm, Camden County, Georgia, roll 62, Florida State Library, Tallahassee; Eighth Census, 1860, Suwannee County, Florida, roll 109, Florida State Library, Tallahassee.
2. Information furnished in an address delivered by David Lang, Jr. on Colonel David Lang's life to the David Lang Chapter, Sons of Confederate Veterans, Tallahassee, April 25, 1974. Copy in possession of the author.
3. Company Muster-in-roll, "David Lang," Florida Division of Archives, History and. Records Management, Tallahassee.

He returned to Houston, probably via the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad, where he raised a company of some 100 men from the nearby farms and villages of Spring Grove, Little River, and Houston. Lang was elected captain when the force was mustered into the Confederate Volunteer Service, May 15, 1862, as Company C, 8th Florida Regiment.[4]

In early July 1862, just as Robert E. Lee was raising the great siege of Richmond, the 8th arrived in Virginia. Within two months, beginning with the Battle of Second Manassas, the 8th, 5th, and 2nd Florida were joined together for the first time. Later they would be known as the "Perry Brigade" or the "Florida Brigade."[5]

Within only fourteen months David Lang rose from captain to colonel of the 8th Florida. He later commanded the Florida Brigade temporarily when either Generals E. A. Perry or Joseph Finegan were not present.[6] In the spring of 1865, Lang had the melancholy duty of surrendering the shattered remnants of the Florida troops in the Army of Northern Virginia-fifty-four officers and 416 men from a military unit that once totaled well over 6,000 officers and men.[7]

With the arrival of peace, Lang married Mary Campbell of Cottage Hill, Virginia, and returned with her to Florida.[8] Lang moved about the state as a civil engineer until 1885, when his old commander and close friend, E. A, Perry, became governor of Florida. Perry appointed Lang adjutant general of the state and major general of militia. After eight years in this office, Lang

4. Florida Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian– Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Tallahassee, 1903), 335-36.
5. Edward A. Perry was an attorney in Pensacola before the outbreak of the war. He organized Company A of the 2nd Florida, and eventually became its colonel in May 1862. He was promoted to brigadier general, August 1862, and named commander of the Florida Brigade. Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History,* 12 vols. (Atlanta, 1899; facsimile edition, New York, 1962), XI, Florida section, 267. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray, Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge, 1959), 235-36.
6. Brigadier General Joseph Finegan commanded the Confederate troops at the Battle of Olustee, February 1864. He replaced Perry as commander of the Florida Brigade. Warner, *Generals in Gray,* 88-89.
7. Editor's tally of troops surrendered at Appomattox. Florida Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida,* 79, 136, 189, 207, 219, 236.
8. Mary Quarrels Campbell, daughter of Dr. Joseph Campbell, was about eighteen years old at the time of her marriage to David Lang. She bore him two sons, Campbell and Joseph, before her death in 1889. David Lang, Jr., to author, May 5, 1972, May 8, 1974.

served eight more years as private secretary to Governor Henry L. Mitchell and Governor William D. Bloxham. In 1901 he was appointed cashier of the Florida State Hospital at Chattahoochee. He held this position until his death in 1917. He and his wife are buried in the old city cemetery in Tallahassee.[9]

Other than David Lang's few official reports, all that have survived in writing of his war-time experiences are fourteen letters to his "Dear Cousin Annie," Elizabeth Atkinson of Marietta, Georgia, written over a period of twenty-two months, beginning with September 7, 1862, up to July 18, 1864, just as the long siege of Petersburg was beginning.

David Lang was a well-educated and literate soldier who wrote in a clear, firm hand and in an expressive manner. At first his letters did not dwell excessively on the war, but they became more and more concerned with and attentive to troop movements and engagements as the war became more and more desperate. He was an unremitting rebel, with a continuing dislike of "the invaders of a Heaven gifted people." Lang's letters constitute one of the few contemporary personal accounts of the Florida troops in Virginia and the only existing record of a soldier's experiences in the 8th Florida Regiment.[10] They are now in the possession of David Lang's great grandson, David Lang, Jr., of Tallahassee. Mr. Lang transcribed the letters verbatim and provided additional material on the history of Colonel Lang and his forebears. In the matter of spelling and punctuation, no alterations from the author's style have been made. These letters and the existing military records present the image of a loved and respected leader; and a brave soldier, whom his men would follow under trying and dangerous circustances. Lang's selection to be Florida's major general of the postwar militia supports this view. He was one of Florida's notable citizen-soldiers.

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9. David Lang, Jr.'s address, April 25, 1974.
10. Among other published accounts of Florida soldiers who served in Virginia, see Francis P. Fleming, *Memoir of Capt. C. Seton Fleming, of the Second Florida Infantry, C.S.A., Illustrative of the History of the Florida Troops in Virginia During the War Between the States* (Jacksonville, 1884); Knox Mellon, Jr., "A Florida Soldier In The Army of Northern Virginia: The Hosford Letters," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVI (January 1968), 243-71: Gilbert Wright, "Some Letters to His Parents by a Floridian in the Confederate Army," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (April 1958), 353-72.

Frederick, Md. Sept 7th, 1862

Dear Annie

I was very much pleased to receive your letter which reached me while I was on the battlefield of 31st awaiting orders to join the terrible conflict which was raging in front of us & notwithstanding the tumult which was gradually enveloping us.[11] I assure you your letter was carefully and pleasantly read, yet I was sorry to hear of Uncle's illness and hope his apprehensions with regard to typhoid fever are groundless.

I presume it would be useless for me to attempt to give you any information as to the late battle, as you have doubless received full particulars ere this by the newspapers. Suffice it to say that Yankee-doodle was most "elegantly baten." This paper & this ink are among the spoils of the camp of the 9th N. Y. Regiment. I have carried it in my pocket until it is nearly worn out. I have some envelopes taken there which are very fancy and of various devices & patterns. I have seen one with the *black flag* on it, which had passed through the U. S. mails. After the battle we followed the Yankees far enough to learn the general direction of their retreat & then by a series of forced marches we succeeded in crossing the Potomac near Leesburg unmolested & reached here this morning. I have not visited the city yet, but learn from those men who have that the citizens receive them most kindly & entertain them scumptuously free of charge, which said entertainment is just at this time what we soldiers most need for we have not fared sumptusously on these rapid marches, in fact, the hard fare & harder marching has reduced my company to about twenty five men. The remainder had been left along the line of our march to recruit their health. We have met no opposition since the battle, but I presume the enemy is gathering forces for a grand strike somewhere. It is reported among us today, but I do not know how truthful, that the citizens of Baltimore were fighting among themselves, the unionist were attempting to remove the federal sick & wounded and destroy federal property to

11. The "battlefield of the 31st," refers to the close of the Battle of Second Manassas, August 28-September 1, 1862, the first great battle in which Lang participated. The 8th and 5th Florida comprised part of Roger A. Pryor's Brigade, Wilcox's Division, Longstreet's Corps, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, XII, part 2, 547. Hereinafter cited as ORA.

prevent its falling into our possession and the secessionist were trying to prevent it. If no serious obstacle opposes we will be in Baltimore in three days more.

9 P.M.

I have just finished making one hundred & fifteen biscuits, without grease or soda, & Henry Hall is baking them for our next ten days rations. Since coming to Virginia we officers are not allowed to buy any more from government commissary than is issued to a private, & being on the frontier no one will _____ a slave here as cook so we have to draw our rations and cook them just the other men do. Just imagine me sitting upon the ground, in my shirt sleeves & barefooted, writing upon my knee by the light of the fire that is cooking my bread, writing to a young lady. What a fine sketch for Harpers Weekly.

Annie, are any of my old acquaintances in Marietta now, any young ladies who were on the carpet years ago? It seems but a short time since I left Marietta & yet it has been more than five years. As I will have to rise early tomorrow perhaps to march all day, I must now seek some repose. Please give my love to all and tell Uncle & Aunt if I should be so unlucky as to get wounded, I shall certainly remember their kind invitation. Annie, this is a real camp letter, hastily conceived & hurriedly written, and you must receive & excuse it as such. Remember me as ever. Your cousin

David

Fredericksburg, Va.[12]
Jany 3rd, 1863

Dear Cousin

Yours per Capt Milladge accompanying your much prized Christmas gift was promptly delivered by Capt. Millidge on the 26th inst. whilst I was in Richmond, ostensibly for the benefit of my health, but in reality to spend Christmas.[13] In the late battle of Fredericksburg I was unlucky enough to get a blow upon the

12. Four months passed between this rambling communication and the first letter. During this period Lang participated in the capture of Harper's Ferry and fought in the Battles of Blackford's Ford, South Mountain, Crampton's Gap, Antietum, and Fredericksburg. ORA I:XIX, Part 1, 810, 812. Returning to Virginia, the 2nd, 5th, and 8th Florida were organized as Perry's Brigade.

13. John Milledge, Jr., Nelson's Georgia Battery, 2nd Army Corps, Army of Northern Virginia. ORA I:XXIX, Part I, 403, 821.

head, from a mass of bricks and mortar knocked from the wall of a house by a cannon ball. And to that circumstance I owe my visit to Richmond, I am very sick from the blow for eight or ten days, the Surgeon thought I was in danger of congestion of the brain, but thanks to a thick skull I am again able for duty, though troubled some with dizziness, the result of the concussion. On my return from Richmond, I met with very distressing news, news from home. A letter awaited me with tidings of Fathers death. The hand of affliction has fallen heavily upon our family in the last two years. Jack, Misty, and Neely, and now Father, have been taken from us.[14] Poor Mother, I know. She is terribly distressed and I fear the effect upon her health. I am anxious, yet dread to hear from home. I am very sorry now that I did not attempt to get leave to go home after the late battle, for though I could not have been home in time to see Father, yet it would have been some consolation and comfort to mother and the girls. They are fortunate in having Dr. Hicks at home with them. He is a noble fellow, and I have the consolation to know that though I too should be snatched by death away from there, that my place as son and brother would be more than filled by him.

We are just receiving confirmation of the news of Braggs' great victory in Tennessee, and hopes of an early peace are running high in camps this morning.[15] Yet I confess I cannot see in this great victory any cause to hope for peace soon. It is only a defeat of one hundred thousand, and they have one million men in arms against. If twelve months bring peace I shall be satisfied but in that time thousands of brave southern men must be sacrificed upon the altar of freedom.

Please give my love to Uncle Alex, Aunt Mary, and the children and always remember me affectionately as Your Cousin, P.S. Excuse the haste in which this has been written and the

14. David Lang's two young brothers and a sister all died within two weeks. John Lang, age fourteen, died July 10, 1861; Milton Lang, twelve, died July 5, 1861; and Helen Lang, five years old, died June 27, 1861. His father died in 1862 at the age of fifty-seven. Cemetery records, Swift Creek Methodist Church, Facil, Florida. Data furnished by David Lang, Jr.

15. Lang here refers to the Battle of Murfreesboro (Stone's River), fought December 31, 1862-January 3, 1863. Contrary to Confederate opinion at the time, it proved not to be a "great victory." Vincent J. Esposito, ed., *The West Point Atlas of the Civil War*, 2 vols. (New York, 1962), I, 83.

paper upon which it is written as 'tis all that I have or can get here.

Dave

Orange C. H. Va. Jany 18th 1863

Dear Cousin,

Although today is not Sunday, and I have not just finished "the indulgence of the rare luxury," alluded to in my last, yet it is a rainy day. I am neccessarily confined indoors and my neighbors are for the same reason prevented from boring me with their stereotyped remarks upon the "state of the country," "the shortness of the meat ration" "the first probable move of the enemy next spring" &c, &c, therefore I propose to employ a part of the period of my exemption from dull company, not in entertaining or even in attempting to entertain you with my pen, but rather in making a pretext for expecting a continuation of your letters, one of the few sources of pleasure to me while penned up here amid the snows and bogs of a dull Virginia winter. "A dull Virginia winter," how strangely contradictory of all former ideas of a winter in the "Old dominion." Yet it has become strictly true. There is no time nor inclination now, for the thousand and one sports and amusements, once indulged in, prior to the advent of the much abused & greatly deprecated "most cruel war." Virginia's noble sons are upon the "war path," the quiet cheerfulness of their demeanor, as they toil weary, cold and hungry over rugged mountain path and frozen stream, attesting the earnestness with which they have engaged in this matchless struggle of a Heaven gifted people for liberty, while her lovely maidens are bending every energy of body and mind to aid, to comfort and to cheer their resolute defenders. Forgotten are the foxchase, the dinner-party and the merry jingle of the sleighbells. The gay sportsman chases now, the larger, yet scarcely more noble game from the "Faderland" and "Green Erin"– the wealthy planters well-stocked storeroom is transferred to the "hungry commissaries," and that which formerly was destined to tickle the dainty palates of luxury, now boils and bubbles in the mess-kettle and imparts life and strength to the "lean and hungry rebel," while the pampered steed which pranced beneath the inspiriting bells now tugs wearily at the traces of man's horrible engine of destruction. But why dwell in bitterness upon the gay

Major General David Lang of the Florida militia

Courtesy of State Photographic Archives, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

Edward Aylsworth Perry (left) and Joseph T. Finegan (right), from illustrations in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

scenes that are gone. Fain longing and regrets can not bring them again to us. Let us rather turn with renewed energy to the stern realities of the present, and the glorious work which is before us, seize our weapons and pray to a just God to move our arms while we carre out a nations independence and restore peace and its thousand blessings to our distracted country.

You ask me Annie, what pursuit I intend following when peace is restored: That is a subject upon which I have spent much thought, but made no decision. All my cogitations being interrupted by the memory of the old lady's receipt for cooking, or rather for preparing a hare – *First catch your hare.* Peace is not here yet, dear Cousin, and when it comes, who can tell where I may be? One thing, only, have I determined upon when peace comes, and finds me alive. That is, – *to marry*, accompanied, of course, by the *neccessary proviso.* "If I can find &c."– Remember me with much love to Uncle, Aunt, Lilla, Br_____ and Roane, and believe me as ever,

Your Cousin
Dave

Camp near Fredericksburg
Feby, 18th 1863

Dear Cousin

A letter from Sue this evening informs me that you have never received my letter in response to yours by Capt. Milledge, and that you very naturally complain of my neglect to notice the receipt of your letter and the pretty little Christmas gift which accompanied it. Capt. Milledge faithfully discharged his promise and delivered his charge on the 26th December in Richmond where I then was by reason of an injury received in the battle at this place.[16] On my return to camp a few days afterwards I made haste to respond to your highly esteemed favour & to thank you for the beautiful token of remembrance which you had so kindly sent me. I regret very much that you did not receive my letter, as it has left me open to a charge of neglect & ingratitude, than which I hope to convince you, nothing could be farther from my intentions. 'Tis so seldom that a letter from my friends breaks the monotonous routine of humdrum camp life, that I am par-

16. At Fredricksburg, Lang commanded the 8th for the first time in battle and was wounded. Florida Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida,* 336.

ticularly careful to do everything to increase the frequency of the visits from there pleasant little messengers and to avoid anything which would tend to make them less frequent. Permit me again to thank you for your kind remembrance and to assure you that your very pleasant and cheerful letters, which are a source of much pleasure to me, shall never be prized less highly & never neglected.

We are under marching orders for tomorrow and I do not know when another opportunity to write may present itself, hence I write this hastily to night, for with tomorrows light, (the sun we do not expect to see) we must be up and away. We are particularly unfortunate as regards the weather. A days hard snowing, has been followed by what bids fair to be a weeks raining and this with the melting of the snow makes the mud & water ankle deep over the whole country, which affords anything but pleasant anticipations to infantry, under orders for marching, they know not where.

Sue writes me that Col. E. N. Atkinson who was reported killed in the late battle at this point has come to light among the wounded prisoners.[17] I am truly glad to hear that he has been so lucky. I have never yet had the pleasure of meeting any of the 26th Geo. since being in Virginia. Being in different army corps our camps are always eight or ten miles distant, and I have not hitherto had the privilege of a horse & could not visit at that distance. Another Cousin of mine, Geo. Thomas, was left for dead upon the battlefield of Sharpsburg, but has since returned to Rebeldom convalescent. I was thought to be dead for sometime in the battle here. A mass of brick knocked from a wall struck me on the side of the head and neck, knocked me down & covered my head & shoulders. Being badly stunned I lay like dead for a time, & my comrades thought I was instantly killed, but fortunately before they left, I showed signs of life when they pulled me from under the bricks & brought me off, and thanks to a hard head, a good constitution and a kind Providence I am yet an efficient soldier.

I hope you have enjoyed yourself abundantly during your long visit to Columbus, Macon and Scottsboro. Although I can not hope to participate in enjoyments of any kind while this

17. Edmund M. Atkinson, commander of the 26th Georgia Regiment.

horrible war lasts yet it always pleases me to know that my friends are passing their time pleasantly. Please give my love to Uncle, Aunt, the children, and to John when you write and remember me ever as

Your cousin
David Lang

Hamilton Crossing, Va.
March 15th 1863

Dear Cousin

Your letter of the 28th ult. has been received and I am pleased to hear of your pleasant visit & more pleasant return to family and friends at home. My pleasure, though I must confess, is prompted in some degree by selfishness, as you promise now that you have returned to the quiet & peacefulness of home that our correspondance shall suffer no interruption. You say your "poor little present was not worth many thanks." Permit me here to differ with you. 'Tis not the intrinsic value of such that we soldiers prize, but the sweet assurance that we are not forgotten, which these little presents bring, is the standard by which we estimate their value and by this standard, yours is priceless.

You ask what of peace. Would that I could write favourably of an early peace, but I can not; indeed I fear that yours of war and bloodshed are yet before us. Not that I doubt the ability of our army to hold its own against the invader or even to advance its lines if properly supported by the people. But from all parts of our country where the despoiling invader has never been, where the people know nothing or comparatively of the horrors & wretchedness of the war, come tidings of an overwhelming confidence in early peace and that the planters are going to plant largely of cotten and tobacco. Nothing is so disheartening to the soldier, to the poor man who has left a large & almost helpless family to risk life & lime in the cause of independence, to see those who are permitted to remain out of the army for the purpose of raising provisions, embark in the thoughtless, heartless and most unpatriotic enterprise of planting large cotten & tobacco crops when the country is almost on the verge of famine. Well does the poor soldier know that when a scarcity of provisions occurs, that his dear helpless ones will be the first to suffer, and when it come(s) to this, the army composed of poor men,

can not be kept together and the horrors of the French Revolution, the cry of "Bread or Blood" will be renewed & reciracted (sic) with tenfold fury in our own country. A fearful weight of responsibility is resting upon the farmers of the Confederate States. With them rests the fate of our army. If we are not fed and if our soldier's family are not fed, we cannot fight and subjegation and all its attendant horrors are ours. In short, the cotten and tobacco planters, if reports are true, are about to strike the most deadly blow that has yet been struck at our independance. May an overruling Providence shield us from the blow. I am glad to see Gov. Brown appreciate the danger & is making efforts toward off the blow. We are now having very tolerable weather, the roads are drying very fast and we expect soon to have to meet the enemy again upon the yet bloody field of Fredericksburg, as they make a continual boast of their strength and eagerness for a renewal of hostilities. Just this moment I have received orders to prepare my Regt. at once to march, and report _____to meet the enemy who are concentrating troops above us on the River.[18] So I must quit, I give my love to all, Uncle, Aunt and the children.

Affectionately your cousin,
David Lang

Fredericksburg, Va. April 19th 1863

Dear Cousin

Failures to receive any letters from the past fortnight, reminds me that I, too, am in arrears with some of my correspondents, and that you are among the number, and fearing that I might lose a valued correspondence by longer delay I devote a portion of this beautiful Sabbath morning to my correspondent. Of course you are not surprised that I should write you on the Sabbath. Next to my religious duties I regard my correspondence with relatives and friends as most sacred, for surely nothing exerts a greater influence over the soldier, either for good or evil than his home correspondence, and when that influence is exerted for good, nothing short of a direct confliction with duty should interrupt the correspondence. And what time, more appropriate to the soldier, than the holy sabbath morning, for holding sweet communion with the purer beings of home life.

18. Rappahannock River.

How many brave hearts are saddened by bad, or cheered by good tidings from the loved ones at home upon the eve of battle. And may not the result of battles and the fate of the country rest upon these little messengers of weal or woe?

An instance has arisen in the army of a soldier's being shot for desertion, caused by an unfortunate letter full of complaints, received from his wife.

Unfortunately most of my letters recently have brought me bad news. The last one I received from home contained news of the death of Cousin Lizzie Thomas, of which, I presume you heard before I did.

I am glad to know that the enemy had withdrawn his negro troops from Florida.[19] While they remained in the state I was in continually uneasiness in regard to the success of their expidition as I had but very little confidence in the officers commanding in that department. Sue wrote me that everybody was expecting to quit the country until the Geo. Regulars were ordered down there, when they all felt perfectly safe.

We have not yet had any fighting since the Fredericksburg fight, but the cavalry have skirmishes every few days about ten miles above us on the Rappahannock. Everything is now in readiness for fighting at a moments notice. The cartridge boxes are all full and every man is required to keep three days rations constantly provided. The army is not anxious to fight merely for the sake of fighting, but they know, that is, the soldiers know that more fighting has to be done before the war can be closed and being tired of war they are willing to have the fighting commenced and finished at once. I hear many express the willingness to make an "every day" business of the war and fight it out to its close before stopping.

I had a message from Col. Atkinson this morning. He has

19. Jacksonville was occupied for the third time by Federal troops on March 10, 1863, and was evacuated on March 31, 1863. The 1st South Carolina Brigade, made up in part of the all-black 1st and 2nd Regiments of Infantry, were among the occupying troops. D. Hunter to S. F. DuPont, March 6, 1863, ORA I:XIV, 421; R. Saxton to E. M. Stanton, March 6, 1863, ORA I:XIV, 423; G. T. Beauregard to James A. Seddon, March 30, 1863, ORA I:XIV, 850. For more on the Union occupations of Jacksonville, see Richard A. Martin, "Defeat in Victory: Yankee Experience in Early Civil War Jacksonville," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIII (July 1974), 1-32; "The *New York Times* Views Civil War Jacksonville," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIII (April 1975), 409-27.

just returned to the army and is in camp, near Hamilton's Crossing, about five miles from our present encampment. "Report" says he wished to marry while at home, but his affianced would not agree to the consummation of the happy event until the close of the war, which proves her to be a girl of rare good sense. Many girls are very foolishly, (I think) marrying soldiers, going home on thirty days furlough, some of whom are virtually widows the moment they lose sight of their husband returning to the army. Since I began this letter I have received and just read a letter from Addie. As usual it brings more bad news, it tells me that a favorite cousin (Willis McCall) has fallen by his own hand. Temporary insanity caused by some unpleasant news he had heard is assigned as the cause of his committing the terrible act. He was a young man of rare good sense & I have often heard him speak in unmeasured terms of the crime of self-destruction & he certainly must have been laboring under a fit of mental aberration. I hope when I write again it may be after a glorious victory which shall be the harbinger of a speedy peace. Please give my love to all, & think of me always as your affectionate

Cousin, David

Near Fredericksburg, Va. May 16th 1863

Dear Cousin,

Your letter of the _____ inst., reached me yesterday and as I have not written to you since the last engagements here, I will do so at once even though I run the risk of becoming tedious by writing too often.

I have been so fortunate this time as to escape injury entirely, much to my surprise. My regiment was not, however so hotly engaged this battle as it has been in the other previous battles, which may in some degree account for my safety.[20] We did more marching this time than usual. Being in a small Brigade we were made usefull in filling up gaps & vacant places in the line & in strengthening weak points. On the 29th & 30th we occupied our old position the first battle of Dec. last,[21] and had no fighting, on the 1st we were marched five miles up the river & were manouvered back & forth on Gen. Lee's extreme right, all that day & night, & also on the 2nd, without being engaged until

20. Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1-5, 1863.
21. Battle of Fredricksburg, December 11-15, 1862.

near night on the 2nd when our pickets engaged the enemy in his defences but failed to draw him out. After dark we changed positions from extreme right to centre, bivouced that night, and on the 5th, a beautiful Sabbath morning, we marched about three miles to get into positions & immediately charged the enemy in his defences, which consisted of breastworks of logs & earth with the timber, (which was here very thick) felled in front forming an abattis, varying from fifty to two hundred yards in width. Over this fallen timber & the breastwork our men quickly went, shouting & yelling. The enemy did not injure us much while charging, but they fell back into some thick woods under cover of a hill where they made another stand, from which we had some difficulty in driving them, but we continued to advance through this woods driving them before us but losing many men until they were driven into their second line of defences. Gen. Lee having Hooker now penned up so that Gen. Jackson's corps could keep him in check, withdrew our division (Gen Anderson's) & Gen. McLaw's division to drive Sedgewick back. We marched twelve or fifteen miles back to Fredericksburg & formed our line of battle about four o'clock P.M. when the line was moved forward and the enemy having made a feeble show of resistence hastily began recrossing the river, and by daylight next morning had succeeded in withdrawing his army beyond the river, not however without great loss from being shelled while crossing on pontoons. Now we had to march ten miles back to where we had to face Hooker again. This marching was accomplished in one of the heaviest rainstorms that I ever saw. Next morning it was discovered that Hooker had taken advantage of the storm and darkness to get himself out of a very bad scrape, and we thereupon returned to camps. Owing to the hardships & exposure of the seven days marching & fighting many of us have since been sick, and I am still unwell. My regiment lost in the battles 11 killed and 56 wounded. I had only 240 in the fight.[22] I have not seen or heard from Col. Atkinson since the battle but presume he is safe. I started to visit him a few days before the battle, but failed to find him & have been so unwell since that I could not leave camps I would be much pleased to visit Marietta this summer, but have no hope of doing so, un-

22. Colonel Lang commanded the 8th at Chancellorsville, May 1-5, 1863. Florida Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida,* 336.

less wounded. Please give my love to Uncle, Aunt and the children and remember me as your affectionate Cousin,

David Lang

Hagerstown July 9th [1863]

Dear Cousin,

We have fought another great battle, in which thousands were slain on both sides, and by the interposition of Divine Providence I am still alive and unhurt.[23] The fighting began at New Salem near Gettysburg between Pender's & Heth's division of A. P. Hills Corps, and the 3rd (Federal) Army Corps, on the 1st July: our Division (Anderson's) being in the rear of the Corps was not engaged the 1st day, on the 2nd our whole army was brought up and attacked the enemy in his stronghold on the mountain side behind Gettysburg, Longstreet on our right, A. P. Hill in the centre and Ewell on the left. Longstreet was the last to get into position which he did about 3 P. M. and immediately the attack began. About 5 P. M. we were ordered to charge the enemys positions, and away we dashed across an open field 1½ miles wide every foot of which was swept by the enemys artillery and musketry. Coming up with their infantry we drove them back in disorder to their breastworks on the heights, capturing a large number of cannon. After arriving just under the enemys stronghold they threw forward a heavy column of infantry on our right which was not properly supported and succeeded in turning the right of Wilcox's Brigade (which was on our right) and thus forced us to fall back and leave all that we had gained. Thus ended the second days fighting. On the morning of the 3rd all of our artillery was placed in position, and at a given signal concentrated their fire upon the enemys strong position. The cannonading was terrific. More than 300 cannon were being discharged as fast as they could be loaded & fired, and the noise was so great that one could not carry on conversation with his nearest neighbor.[24] After this had continued for near two

23. Since Lang's last letter of May 16, the Florida Brigade had marched into Maryland again with the Army of Northern Virginia and then into Pennsylvania and had fought in the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863, to which Lang alludes here. Lang commanded the Florida Brigade throughout this battle because General Perry had contracted typhoid fever. Lang's report of the battle is in Evans, *Confederate Military History*, XI, Florida section, 150-53.

24. There were 248 Confederate and 320 Union cannon in all engaged in the Battle of Gettysburg. Lang's Brigade of Anderson's Corps lay just

hours, another charge was ordered. This charge was made in the centre by Picket's division. They went in, in splendid order but were unable to carry the position and fell back badly cut up. As soon as they had retired, our brigade & Gen. Wilcox's, together numbering about 1200, men were ordered to charge the same position from which this whole division had just been repulsed. Our men went into it gallantly to within a short distance of the enemy's entrenchments when they were again outflanked & compelled to retire. Our loss was tremendous, of the whole number (700) which I carried in I now have 220 for duty.[25] The remainder are killed, wounded and captured. This ended the 3rd days fighting in the centre. On the 4th nothing more than skirmishing took place along our front, but it was discovered early in the day that the enemy were leaving their position. Having used up all of our artillery amunition we could not follow the enemy, but were obliged to return here to connect with our amunition train. now we have a bountiful supply of amunition. Gen. Lee will no doubt make another forward movement, but what point he will next strike and where the next great battle will be fought, is still a mystery. I have not seen Col. Atkinson since the battle but learn that he escaped unhurt. I saw Capt. Milledge yesterday he was unhurt, & told me that he did not lose a man or horse in the two days he was engaged.

Remember me with much love to Uncle, Aunt and all of my Cousins, and believe me as ever your Affectionate Cousin

Dave

Culpeper C. H. Va. Aug. 1st 1863

Dear Cousin Annie,

Since the battle of Gettysburg I have written you once, but as I now have plenty of leisure I will risk wearying you with another scrawl. I do not remember where I wrote from last, but believe it was at Hagerstown. Since then we have had rather hard

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to the left of Longstreet's Corps which contained 159 guns. These were preparing the way for General George Pickett's charge on the afternoon of July 3, 1863. Francis Trevelyan Miller, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War,* 10 vols. (New York, 1912), V, 71; Esposito, *West Point Atlas of the Civil War,* map 98.

25. This little-known attack by Wilcox's and Lang's undermanned commands against the great odds that had just repulsed General Pickett's 12,000 veterans must, in this editor's opinion, constitute one of the great tragic moments in the war.

times even for Virginia soldiers. Leaving Hagerstown we came about two miles towards the old Antietam battle ground and confronted the enemy in line of battle but, Gen. Meade was evidently afraid to dash his gallant & victorious soldiers of freedom, against that single line of ragged, halfstarved, barefooted, badly whipped and totally demoralized rebels, as we lay there patiently for three days awaiting and anxiously inviting an attack from the "best army the world ever saw" which was lying idly within easy cannon range of us, on the heights beyond the Antietam Creek. He no doubt thinking we would attack him there, where he would have nothing to do but lie safely behind breastworks and shoot us as fast as we came, like he did at Gettysburg. Having exhausted his patience and not being able to force his courage up to the charging point, he on the third day began moving off towards Harpers Ferry, and that night Gen. Lee withdrew his army to this side of the Potomac. It rained almost incessantly that whole night, which was the darkest I ever saw, we were all night marching five miles through mud eight and ten inches deep and the men were so badly tired down and worn out that numbers of them laid down by the roadside fell asleep and were captured by the enemy's cavalry next day. After crossing the river we remained one day on this bank, and the next day we marched to Bunker Hill in Berkely County where we remained four days and then continued our march to this point in order to intercept the enemy who were trying to march ahead of us to Richmond. Foiled here, they have continued on down the Rappahannock to Fredericksburg, where I expect the next great battle will be fought. There we have the best position, our men will fight better, from having defeated the enemy twice before on that ground, and the Yankees will fight to a disadvantage from having been twice defeated there. July 1863 has been as unfortunate a month for us, as July 1862 was for the Yankees, but I trust that this summer's campaign will set us all right again. If the militia will take care of garrisoned places near home, and send us all the soldiers from those places to meet the invader, all will yet be well before another twelve-month passes away.

Our Brigade (Perry's) suffered terribly in the fights at Gettysburg. I carried in near 700 men and lost 455 in two assaults upon the enemy's mountain fastnesses, and now since having convalescents from home and hospital for two weeks we can muster

but little more than 300 guns for duty. The 2nd Fla. Regt. has but 65 men for duty. There have been rumours of sending the brigade to Florida to recruit, but I have no hope of such luck, & indeed if our army here is to be weakened by it I have no wish to go. At the same time I believe it would be but justice to bring those holiday soldiers from there, for awhile and allow us to take their places until we could fill our ranks.

While passing through Winchester I visited the family with whom I staid whilst I was wounded last fall, and they appeared to be as delighted to see me as though I was a part of the family. I felt very sad at parting from them, knowing that the Yankees would soon be among them again, and they have been treated so badly. Two young ladies of my acquaintance were arrested on the street by order of Gen. Milroy, marched between a file of soldiers with fixed bayonets and actually imprisoned four hours in the common guard house; and this for the henious offence of having the rebel flag *painted on the inside of the cuffs of their gauntlets.*[26] I pray that no more of our country may fall into the possesion of these human fiends.

I have recently met several of my schoolmates while at the Geo. Mil. Inst. and have gathered from them a good many items of interest occurring since my departure from Marietta. I presume that I would hardly meet a familiar face upon the streets of Marietta now, if I were to visit it. Most of my old acquaintances have moved, I learn, to Atlanta and Macon, and their places have been filled by refugees from the frontier. I saw Col. Atkinson and Capt. Milledge after the battle they both escaped unhurt. Edmond went much farther into Penn. than the main body of the army[27] The brigade to which he belongs (Gordon's) went as far as the Susquehannah River and would have crossed but the militia who were posted there to defend the town, Wrightsville, fled across the bridge & then burned it before they could be overtaken. Edmond captured a fine horse of which he is very proud. I had a letter from Addie yesterday. They had not heard from me since the battle and were still very uneasy about me, although I wrote them by the first opportunity. The mails are never less than nine days on the route from home here. When (?) we are

26. Major General Robert H. Milroy, commander of the U.S. 2nd Division, 8th Army Corps.
27. "Edmond" refers to Colonel Edmund N. Atkinson, 26th Georgia.

ordered home to recruit I will make a digression by the way of Marietta if possible.

Please give my love to all, Uncle, Aunt, and the children and to John when you write to him next.

As ever, affectionately Your Cousin

Dave.

Orange C. H. Va. Sept. 13th 1863

Dear Cousin Annie,

I do not know whether you or I wrote last, but I do know that it has been a long time since I have had a letter from you and that prompts me to make this infliction this beautiful Sabbath morning. We had last night after several days of gloomy, cloudy weather, a very heavy rain and this morning is bright and beautiful. All nature seems to be refreshed by the bath. We had a great quantity of dust before and now, as is usual in this country of mud & dust, we have oceans of mud.

Since I wrote you last we have had some grand sights in the way of military reviews. First, each division of A. P. Hill's corps was reviewed. Then a few days afterward Ewell's Corps was reviewed, and on the day before yesterday Hill's whole corps was reviewed by Gen. Lee. The country here is so broken and the fields so small that we could not be reviewed in one line, consequently the corps was formed in three lines, each about one mile in length, Gen. Longstreets Corps having been ordered to Gen. Bragg's assistance we are deprived of the pleasure of seeing his troops on review. I hope we shall hear glorious news from Gen. Bragg in a very short time. That army owes the country at least one decided victory, and now is the best time that it could come. Edmond, Gen. Thomas and Dr. Gilko [?] were present at our review on Friday. They are all in excellent health and spirits. Dr. Gilko [?] is apparently a very amiable and clever gentleman. Have you ever seen him? I hear that he is to be our kinsman soon. Addie is on a visit to Georgia now, and she writes me that Cousin Isaac is married and that George, Henry and Rich. Lang are all expecting to marry soon. Rich's engagement does not appear to give general satisfaction among his relatives. They think he should have made a better selection. Addie thinks Cousin Isaac's lady is a very nice girl, but that she has very much the being of a petted and spoiled child. Which is all very well, as an

"Old man's darling" as she is. Edmond asserts that he is not engaged, that his "affaire matrimonel" has been broken off, but I do not know whether to believe him. He speaks so carelessly of it. How I am gossiping! One would think after reading the above lines that I was an old maid, the village gossip of some country town instead of a soldier in the field. But human nature is the same in the peaceful village and on the turbid field, and anything is eagerly sought for as recreation which withdraws the mind even for a few moments from the contemplation of the monstrous treadmill existence which we lead here. There are a large number of young ladies in and around this little village and I have made the acquaintance of a few, just for the sake of recreation. The residence of James Madison, Montpelier, is situated five miles from here. It is now owned by a Mr. Carson, a citizen of New York, an Irishman and formerly a *porter* at one of the hotels there. I visited it a few days since and was much pleased with my visit. It is a most beautiful place and it is a shame that Virginians and particularly the descendants of Madison who live near here should have permitted the place to pass into the possession of a foreigner. The family burial ground is on the place and over the grave of the illustrious president is erected a plain marble shaft upon which is the simple inscription "Madison" with the dates of his birth and death.

Occasionaly we have a picnic here in the army but have not attended any of them yet being prevented heretofore by some previous engagements. The picnics are given by the officers of the brigades, usually at some vacant countryseat in the neighborhood. Per contra. There is a great revival of religion going on throughout the army. Our chaplains preach three times a day to large congregations and we can perceive a manifest improvement in the moral condition of the men. I think it is making good soldiers of some very trifling material.

I know I have wearied you out of all patience by this scrawl. Please give my love to all, Uncle, Aunt and all the children.

Your Cousin
David Lang.

Camp near Orange C. H. Va. November 11th 1863

Dear Annie,

When I returned from my recent visit home I found one of

your ever welcome letters awaiting my perusal, but my pleasure was greatly subdued, almost turned to sorrow in reading it because I knew that while I read you were weeping over the broken family circle, that one of your treasures here below had been transferred above. I can and do deeply sympathise with you, dear cousin, in this sad bereavement, for I too well know what it is to lose a near and dear relative and friend. Since I left home, less than three years since, a kind and loving father, two dear little brothers and a sweet, angel faced little sister have been added to my ties in Heaven. God grant that our broken family circles may be reunited in that better world above, when we finish our pilgrimage here below.

I regreted very much that I was debarred by the length of my leave of absence from making a visit to Marietta. I was allowed but thirty days in which to make my visit and twelve days of that short period had slipped away before I reached home. I returned here just in time to miss the exciting events of Gen. Lee's late chase of Gen. Meade, though I have to acknowledge now being a party to a chase in which the pursuer was pursued, and after a month's absence from this point our army finds itself occupying its old line of defense in which we have great confidence. Meade can pursue us no further until he drives fifty thousand as good soldiers as ever fired a gun from their own chosen position which they have strongly fortified. Although not a party in the late battle at Rappahannock Bridge, yet I was on picket near the battle ground and witnessed a part of the conflict.[28] Hay's Louisiana Brigade and a part of Hoke's North Carolina Brigade were on picket duty on the north side of the river and in an earthwork covering the approach to a pontoon bridge which we had across the river. This earthwork mounted four guns, field pieces. The enemy massed a heavy force of infantry in the woods fronting this battery and threw column after column of the drunken wretches upon this point until our men had exhausted their ammunition and the ground in front of the ford was strewn with Yankee carcasses. Then it was that they entered our breastworks, carried the fort by storm and seized the bridge, the only means of escape and thus cutting off the retreat of our

28. This battle took place November 7, 1863. *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War,* 4 vols. (New York, 1888), IV, Part I, 85.

men and capturing nearly the whole force. All who escaped did so by swimming and fording the river and many were killed in the river. It is thought that Gen. Lee was not expecting Meade to advance so soon & was not entirely prepared for him. Certain it is that if he was surprised, he was not confused. He immediately withdrew his army to another position four miles nearer Culpeper C. H. and there held the enemy at bay until his waggon train was safe this side of the Rapidan and then quickly withdrew to this, his chosen position. Here we will spend the winter unless Meade chooses to try the Fredericksburg route again which he will have to do very soon if at all this winter. We have had one slight fall of snow, with daily prospects of more, since our return here. Col. Young of whom you spoke in your last was for three years a class-mate of mine. He has recently been promoted to the rank of Brigadier General.[29] I saw him a few days since at a review (by Gen. Lee) of the cavalry corps. He commands Gen. Wade Hampton's old brigade, said to be one of the best brigades in the army and he is highly commended for his dashing gallantry. Please give my love to Uncle, Aunt and the children, and remember ever as Your affectionate Cousin,

Dave.

Camp near Orange C. H. April 27th 1864

Dear Annie,

I was surprised yesterday by your very pleasant letter of the 18th instant and "in accordance with instructions" therein contained, I, as a dutiful and loyal soldier ever should, am improving my first opportunity to write again, indulging the hope that you will not be too busy to write again to me before we leave this land of post offices and regular mail communications. It had been so long since a letter had passed between us that I had forgotten whether you or I had written last and would have written again but being a most devoted "lovier" during the time I could think and speak and write of nothing else than the lovely object of my infatuation which of course would not interest one who I am sure must be the idol of many aspiring "starred and barred" heroes of the army of Tennessee. For this reason I deferred writing until such time as I could withdraw my mind for a sufficient length of time from the charms of my "inamorata."

29. Pierce Manning Butler Young.

Fortunately your letter has reached me simultaneously with her departure for home, and but for this lucky coincidence I should have been inconsolable and the fearful tragedy of "Villikens and his Dinah" might have been re-enacted upon the banks of the Rapidan. But she has gone, and though not "out of mind when out of sight" yet the bonds of the magic spell are somewhat relaxed and I can, now and then, think of other things and persons. First and chief among these other things and persons, comes the thought of my cousin Annie, and I hasten to place myself under her treatment "for advice and prescription" to cure this dreadful malady. What do you advise, Cousin Annie? Would you attempt the eradication of the cause by employing antagonistic agents? Or would you rely upon the old adage and prescription, "the hair of the animal cures the bite"; and make a renewed application of the disturbing principles? I am at a loss how to treat the case, though as a matter of course, favor the latter treatment. But, enough of this trifling levity. The times and circumstances suggest graver and more important subjects for thought– the time and place of the next great battle and the results thereof, both actual and prospective? There appears to be a diversity of opinion as to the first of these, but upon the latter I believe all parties agree that the immediate result will be a decisive victory to the confederate cause, and the prospective result a speedy peace. God grant that public expectation may for this one time be realized. Whether this expected great battle will be fought here or at Chattanooga is a subject of most anxious speculation here, though I have no doubt that a great battle will be fought *here* and that very soon. What concerns me most, as *Lucius Hardee* would say, is the unpleasant doubt as to whether I will survive it. I have today visited our signal station, on Clarke's Mountain, which overlooks the encampment of the enemy, and find that they have got, if not a large army, they at least have a distressingly large encampment. If rebels occupied it I should estimate their number at two hundred thousand at least, but the Yankees, I think, do not exceed one hundred thousand and a rumour has just reached us that Grant has taken personal command of the army at Tennessee, which would appear to indicate the purpose to make an advance there simul-

taneous with the one here.[30] Please remember me with much love to Uncle, Aunt & all my cousins, and do not forget,

Dave

Line of Battle near Cold Harbor, Va.
June 7th 1864

Dear Annie,

Your last letter was received a short time after we started upon this unprecedented campaign, this thirty six days of almost continuous fighting and the excitement and bustle and confusion incident thereto has prevented me from writing to you again before this time. We are now for the first time in more than a month enjoying the luxury of a days rest, yet not a days *quiet*, for while I write this the popping of musketry and the occasional boom of a cannon reminds us that "Grant the Giant" still keeps up the cry "Fe, Fo Fum etc.," though blood enough he has already had God knows. What blood has been shed since he commenced his On to Richmond would float a man of war. Our brigades, that is Finegan's & Perry, had been in the front lines until the men were completely exhausted with continual watching and fighting, and last night we were relieved by Wright's Ga. Brigade in order that we might recuperate our exhausted energies for the next grand onslaught which will probably come in a few days.[31] We have been holding a ridge which is considered the key to our position and against which the enemy have made their most desperate assaults. At one time when held by Breckenridge's division the enemy carried a small part of the work but we fortunately were near enough to drive them out almost before they had gained possession, since that time they have kept up a continuous fire by sharpshooters from morning till night upon every man that shows himself along our line. This is occasionally varied by a furious bombardment from some field artillery and mortars and between the three the troops

30. This last letter was written eight days before the first great encounter between Lee and Grant, the Wilderness, May 5-7, 1864. Grant had not taken personal command of the army in Tennessee, as Lang had heard, but directed Meade's Army of the Potomac and was just about to attack Lee.

31. The Florida Brigade had just participated in the Second Battle of Cold Harbor, June 3, 1865. The "Grand onslaught" Colonel Lang expected never came for Grant abandoned Cold Harbor to cross the James River and lay siege to Petersburg, south of Richmond,

are so much worried that twenty four hours in there is enough to exhaust them. It is reported that Grant is now moving off toward his left flank, that is down the Chickahominy. It is generally believed that his loss has been numerous, though I think the reports are greatly exaggerated.[32] Yet he has lost sufficiently to affect the spirits of his troops. Those captured now speak less hopefully of capturing Richmond than they did at the opening of the campaign and many declare that their men won't fight much longer, which when taken in connection with the fact of the feebleness of the charges recently made wear an air of strong probability. Many of the prisoners captured in their latest assaults were under the "majic influence of old rye." I fear that Sherman, Hooker etc. will worry Gen. Johnston back to the Chatahoochee and that your home will fall into the hands of the enemy as I learn by our papers this morning that the Yankee army was at Acworth on Sunday. I have not seen Edmond since the campaign began, but hear that he escaped injury up to the 20th ultimo. Reed is here in the 6th Fla. Battalion of Fanigan's Brigade. He has been here nearly two weeks and I heard nothing of it until an hour or two since when he called on me. He appears to be very well satisfied and in good health. Please remember with love to all.

In haste, I am as ever Your Cousin,

Dave.

Petersburg; Va. July 18th [1864]

I was much pleased dear Cousin to receive your letter of the 30th June this evening and to know that you had all safely established yourselves in your new home. Still I can but feel very sad that you have been compelled to leave your home, knowing that since it has fallen into the possession of the enemy it will be so badly used that you will not recognise it as the same home you left when you see it again.[33] Indeed I feel very sad to know that old Georgia is doomed to suffer as I have seen and am every day seeing Virginia suffer. I have just returned from a ride in town where the enemy's fire has been principally directed. Their fire

32. The Union losses at Cold Harbor were not exaggerated. In less than one hour Grant lost over 7,000 men, the Confederates, 1,500. Esposito, *West Point Atlas of the Civil War*, I, 136.
33. "Cousin" Annie Atkinson's home was in Marietta, Georgia, which fell to Sherman's troops in mid-June 1864.

has not been confined to that part of the city in which the workshops, foundries etc. are located, but they have thrown their shells with devilish malignity into the most private and secluded parts of the city where they knew that none but non-combatants women and children were. These they have succeeded in driving from the town nevertheless they keep up their shelling for four or five hours every day, smashing up things generally, but strange to say, but very few fires have resulted from their shelling, and but one or two buildings have been burned since we came here one month ago. We have been receiving some very cheering accounts of an expedition sent into Maryland under Gen. Early, but we have just learned that he has recrossed the Potomac without capturing either Washington or Baltimore. I do not know whether the object of the expedition was the capture of either of those cities, but the impression prevails among us here, as well as the Yankees, that he only intended to collect supplies of cattle, horses etc. and at the same time create a diversion of the enemy's plans by threatening those places and thus forcing Grant to send away a part of his army from this point for their protection. This being his object, his campaign has been a success; otherwise it has failed![34] Certain it is however that the Yankees throughout Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York were badly frightened. Edmund's regiment is with the expedition, hence I have heard nothing from him since it left here about the 10th of June. Reed was taken sick and sent to hospital in Richmond about four or five weeks ago and I have been unable to hear anything from him since. You made inquiries sometime ago about some officer in Bushrod Johnson's division but I am sorry to say that I had destroyed your letter and forgotten his name so that I have been unable to comply with your request, although I have frequently been near and with Johnson's division.[35] He is now however some distance from us, we being on the extreme right and he on the left of our line of battle. I have not heard from home since the 4th of June so you see you are

34. Lang's appraisal of General Early's motives for the attack on Washington is generally in agreement with that of modern historians. Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command*, 3 vols. (New York, 1942-44), III, 564-65.

35. Major General Bushrod Johnson took part in the defense of Petersburg, Virginia, against Benjamin Butler's forces. His troops bore much of the bitter trench fighting that followed during the siege of that city. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 157-58.

not the only one of Sue's correspondents who have cause to complain of her delinquencies in letter writing though I attribute my failures to hear from home more to the breaking up of our communications than to negligence at home. We are now suffering from the effects of a most distressing and unprecedented drouth. There has not been rain enough to lay the dust here in more than a month and the crops are literally drying up while the dust is almost suffocating.

Remember me with much love to all,

Affectionately
Dave

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway and as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and masters theses completed in 1975 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archeology, geography, and urban studies is included.

Auburn University

Gordon C. Bond (faculty)– "Florida's First Black Politicians: the Negro Members of the Constitutional Convention of 1868" (research completed).

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– "Governor George Johnstone, 1730-1787" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed); "The Rise and Fall of Governor George Johnstone" (research completed); "British Schemes for Florida Prior to Its Occupation" (continuing study).

Frank L. Owsley, Jr. (faculty)– "The Creek War after Horseshoe Bend" (continuing study).

Robert R. Rea (faculty)– "Frederick Haldimand– the Florida Years" (research completed); "West Florida Plantations"; "Urban Problems in British Pensacola"; "Major Robert Farmar" (continuing studies).

Robert R. Rea (faculty) and Milo B. Howard, Jr. (Alabama Department of Archives and History)– "The Minutes, Journals, and Acts of the General Assembly of British West Florida" (continuing study).

Carnegie-Mellon University

Barbara A. Richardson– "Blacks in Jacksonville, Florida: 1860-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Daytona Beach Community College

Peter D. Klingman (faculty)– "History of the Republican Party in Florida" (continuing study).

Emory University

Elliott Mackle– "Utopian Colonies in Florida, 1894-1921" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Flagler College

Thomas Graham (faculty)– "Charles H. Jones, 1848-1913: Editor and Progressive Democrat" (continuing study).

Michael J. Sherman (faculty), Dawn Wiles (faculty), and Robert Steinbach (Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board)– "A Project in Living History: Recreation of an Eighteenth-Century Lifestyle" (continuing study).

Florida Atlantic University

Donald W.. Curl (faculty)-"History of Palm Beach County" (continuing study).

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)-"Seminole Indians of Florida" (continuing study).

Florida State University

William R. Brueckheimer (faculty)– "The Quail Plantations of the Tallahassee-Thomasville Region" (continuing study).

Theodore G. Corbett (faculty)– "Migration to and Social Life in Hispanic St. Augustine before 1763"; "Family Structure, Paternal Authority, and Kinship Networks in Hispanic St. Augustine" (continuing studies).

Robert F. Crider– "East Florida at the End of the Second Spanish Period" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Kathleen Deagan (faculty)– "Excavations on Rattlesnake Island and Anastasia Island, Fort Matanzas National Monument"; "Human Occupation in the Matanzas National Monument Area, 2000 B.C.-A.D. 1850" (continuing study).

Marylyn Mitsuo Feaver– "Homesteads of 1866-1876, Land Acquisition, Retention, and Alienation in Florida, 1866-1970" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

George Fischer (National Park Service, S.E.)– "Underwater Archeological Survey of Biscayne National Monument" (continuing study).

Marvin C. Frazier– "Slavery in Jefferson County" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Paul S. George– "Criminal Justice in Miami, 1896-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation– completed); "Miami Police and the Justice System During the First Generation of Corporate Existence" (continuing study).

Bruce T. Grindal (faculty)– "The Role of Religion in a North Florida Rural Black Community" (continuing study).

Robert C. Hall (faculty)– "The Social Cosmos of Black Churches in Florida, 1865-1917" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "A Microcosmic Study of Slavery in Leon County" (continuing study).

Dororena Harris– "Abolitionist Sentiment in Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).

M. Edward Huges– "Florida and the Election of 1928" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)– "Bicentennial History of Columbia County" (continuing study).

Sharon T. Meredith– "Social Life in St. Augustine in the 1850s" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Barbara E. Miller– "Yellow Fever in Territorial Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).

John H. Moore (faculty)– "Introduction and appendices to facsimile edition of Charles Blacker Vignoles's *Observations on the Floridas*" (research completed).

J. Anthony Paredes (faculty) and Kenneth J. Plante– "Economics, Politics, and the Subjugation of the Creek Indians" (research completed).

Everett A. Rains– "Race Relations in Florida, 1865-1919" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

William Warren Rogers (faculty)– "Introduction and appendices to facsimile edition of John Powell's *The American Siberia*" (accepted for publication, University Presses of Florida).

Michael G. Schene– "The Gamble Family of Middle Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "History of Volusia County"; "Sugarcane Cultivation in Antebellum Florida"; "The Sarasota Assassination Society" (continuing studies).

Stephen Shepard– "Criollo Adaptations in Eighteenth-Century Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Hale G. Smith (faculty) and James Stoutamire– "Curatorial Maintenance of the Southeast Archeological Center Collections" (research completed).

Fay Ann Sullivan– "Frontier Georgia, 1754-1775" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Burke G. Vanderhill (faculty)– "The Alachua Trail"; "Florida's Fountains of Youth" (continuing studies).

Thomas R. Wagy– "LeRoy Collins as chairman of the Democratic National Convention, 1960" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Linda K. Williams– "Loyalism in East Florida, 1763-1785" (M.A. thesis– completed).

J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (faculty)-"Florida in 1776"; "Blacks in British East Florida"; "Comparative study of white relations with Southern Indians in the Colonial Era" (continuing studies).

Florida Technological University

Richard Adicks (faculty)– "History of Oviedo, Florida"; "Introduction and appendices to facsimile edition of John Eatton LeConte's *The Soil and Climate of East Florida"* (continuing study).

Thomas D. Greenhaw (faculty)– "Patrick Tonyn, Loyal Governor of Florida" (continuing study).

J. Paul Hartman (faculty)– "Inventory of Historic Engineering and Industrial Works in the State of Florida" (continuing study).

Jerrell H. Shomer (faculty)– "History of Jefferson County, Florida"; "Negro Land Tenure in Northeast Florida after the Civil War" (continuing studies).

Paul W. Wehr (faculty)– "Bicentennial History of Central Florida" (continuing study).

Georgia Southern College

George A. Rogers (faculty)– "Indigo Production in Florida"; "Biography of Stephen Elliott"; "William Bartram's Route Along the St. Johns River" (continuing studies).

Guilford College

Alexander Stoesen (faculty)– "Biography of Claude Pepper" (continuing study).

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board

Linda V. Ellsworth– "Pensacola Architecture"

Howard University

Elaine M. Smith– "Biography of Mary McLeod Bethune" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Jacksonville

Richard A. Martin– "Antebellum and Civil War Jacksonville" (accepted for publication, Florida Publishing Company, Jacksonville).

Jacksonville University

Frederick S. Aldridge (faculty)– "An Analysis of Effective Consolidation Upon the City of Jacksonville" (continuing study).

George E. Buker (faculty)– "Effect of the Union Blockade Upon Florida During the Civil War" (continuing study).

Joan S. Carver (faculty)– "Relative Merits of Consolidation versus Decentralization in City of Jacksonville" (continuing study).

McNeese State University

Thomas Watson (faculty)– "Panton, Leslie and Company" (continuing study).

Palm Beach Atlantic College

Jerry W. Weeks (faculty)– "The Development of the Florida Citrus Industry"; "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842" (continuing studies).

Pensacola Junior College

Diane Shelley Magie (faculty)– "Annotated Bibliography on the Creek Indians to 1837" (continuing study).

Samford University

Wayne Flynt (faculty)– "The Messiah of the Wooly Hats: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida" (accepted for publication, Louisiana State University Press).

Stetson University

John McSwain– "Ormond-On-the-Halifax" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Malcolm M. Wynn (faculty)– "French Public Reaction to the Spanish Massacre at, Fort Caroline, 1565" (continuing study).

Tallahassee Community College

Janice B. Miller (faculty)– "The Struggle for Free Trade in East Florida and the Cédula of 1793"; "The Rebellion of 1795 in Spanish East Florida" (continuing studies).

Francis A. Rhodes (faculty)– "A History of the Catholic Church in Tallahassee" (continuing study).

Troy State University at Fort Rucker, Alabama

J. Barton Starr (faculty)– "Tories, Dons, and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida, 1775-1785" (accepted for publication, University Presses of Florida); "The Case and Petition of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects, Late of West Florida" (accepted for publication, *Alabama Review);* "A Case for the 'Loyal' Colonies: The West Florida Loyalists" (to be published by the Conference Group for Social and Administrative History); "The Impact of the Revolution on West Florida"; "Spain and West Florida Loyalism" (continuing studies).

University of Alabama in Birmingham

Jack D. L., Holmes (faculty)– "Pensacola Settlers, 1780-1821"; "Bernardo de Gálvez and the American Revolution in West Florida" (continuing studies).

David H. White (faculty)– "Panton, Leslie, and Company– John Forbes and Company"; "Vicente Folch y Juan, Governor in West Florida, 1785-1816" (continuing studies).

University of Florida

Edward N. Akin– "Southern Reflection of the Gilded Age: Henry M. Flagler's System, 1885-1913" (Ph.D. dissertation – completed).

Elizabeth Alexander (project director), Bruce Chappell, Alicia Parkerson, Daniel J. J. Ross (editorial assistants)– "Calendar of the Spanish Holdings of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History" (continuing project).

Dona K. Beidleman– "Analysis of Material Excavated at the Ximinez-Fatio House" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Colleen J. Birch– "Two Florida Dailies' Treatment of Candidates During the Democratic Senate Primary of 1950: A Content Analysis of the *Tampa Tribune* and the *St. Petersburg Times*" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Edward Lane Burrows– "Commercial Radio at the University of Florida: WRUF– An Historical Overview" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Amy Katherine Bushnell– "The Menéndez Family of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1743: Nepotists and Entrepreneurs in a Border Province" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Bruce Chappell and Daniel J. J. Ross– "Diary of the Journey of John Hambly to the Indian Nations, June-August, 1794" (continuing study).

William C. Childers (faculty)– "Garth Wilkinson and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction (continuing study).

David R. Colburn and Richard Scher (faculty)– "Florida Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century" (continuing study).

Caroline Johnson Comnenos– "Florida's Sponge Industry: A Cultural and Economic History" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Merlin G. Cox (faculty) and Charles Hildreth (Air Force Office of History, Washington, D.C.)– "A History of Gainesville, Florida, 1867-1975" (continuing study).

Merlin G. Cox (faculty) and Baynard Kendrick– "A Biographical Study of Sydney and Joshua Chase" (continuing study).

Stephen Leroy Cumbaa– "Patterns of Resource Use and Cross-

Cultural Dietary Change in Spanish Colonial Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).

Louise Damen– "Black English: Anthropological and Linguistic Considerations in the Training of Teachers in Black Dialect Patterns" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty)– "Archeological Investigations of St. Augustine" (continuing study).

Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty) and Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– "Prehistoric Peoples of Florida" (continuing study).

Arlene Fradkin– "Environment and Archeology: The Wightman Site, Lee County, Sanibel Island, Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Michael V. Gannon (faculty)– "Documentary History of Florida, Volume I: The ColoniaI Period, 1513-1821" (continuing study).

William H. Garmany– "Adaptive Strategies and Three Family Businesses in the Florida Citrus Industry" (M.A. thesis – completed).

E. Ashby Hammond (faculty)– "Biographical Register of Florida Medical Practitioners, 1821-1861" (continuing study).

John Paul Jones (faculty)– "History of the Florida Press Association" (continuing study).

Stephen Kerber– "Park Trammell of Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Robert Thomas King– "The Florida Seminoles in the Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Timothy A. Kohler– "The Garden Patch Site: A Minor Weeden Island Ceremonial Center on the North Peninsular Florida Gulf Coast" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Carl D. McMurray– "The Archeology of a Mestizo House [Maria de la Cruz house, St. Augustine]" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– "Cultural Ecology of the Calusa Indians in Southwest Florida" (continuing study).

Jerald T. Milanich (faculty) and William C. Sturtevant– "The Jesus Maria Letter: A 17th Century Timucua-Spanish Document from North Florida" (continuing study).

Jonathan Nelson– "A History of Florida's Forgotten Railroads" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Ralph L. Peek (faculty)– "Florida in World War II" (continuing study).

George Pozzetta (faculty)– "Florida's Ethnic Population: 1870-1926" (continuing study).

Samuel Proctor (faculty)– "Documentary History of Florida, Volume II: Modern Florida, 1821-Present" (continuing study).

Samuel Proctor (faculty) and Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– "TACACHALE– Indians of Florida and Southeast Georgia during the Historic Period" (accepted for publication, *Contributions of the Florida State Museum, Anthropology and History).*

Daniel J. J. Ross– "West Florida under Arturo O'Neill, 1781-1793" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Eldon R. Turner (faculty)– "Gainesville Odd Fellows Lodge, 1898-1930" (continuing study).

Bettye Smith– "Swedish Immigrants in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Karl T. Steinen– "Weeden Island: Regionalism and Similarity" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Joseph Stromberg– "Land Ownership and Tenure in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Linda Vance– "William Sherman and May Mann Jennings: Florida's Progressive First Family" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

L. Glenn Westfall– "Ybor City, A Cultural and Social History of a Southern Immigrant Town" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Arthur White (faculty)– "William N. Sheats: Florida's Progressive Educator, 1892-1922"; "100 Years of State Leadership in Public Education, 1876-1976" (continuing studies); "Changing Patterns of State Leadership and Florida's Crisis in Public Education: 1948-1973" (accepted for publication, Florida State University Press).

George Zavier– "Seafood Gatherers in Mullet Springs: Economic Rationality and the Social System" (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).

University of Miami

William O. Brown, III– "Charles H. Crandon and the De-

velopment of the Park System in Dade County" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Charlton W. Tebeau (emeritus professor)– "Fifty Years of the University of Miami, 1926-1976" (continuing study).

University of North Florida

Dan Schafer (faculty)– "Biography of Eartha White of Jacksonville" (continuing study).

Uniuersity of Sevilla

Father Borja de Medina, S. J.– "Don José de Ezpeleta, Governor General of Mobile (May 4, 1780-March 16, 1781) and Major General in the Siege and Capture of Pensacola (March-May, 1781)" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Pablo Tornero Tinajero– "Economic Dependence of Spanish East Florida upon the United States, 1783-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of South Carolina

Lewis H. Cresse– "William Henry Gleason: Carpetbagger, Politician, Land Developer" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Robert Culbertson– "Florida State Grange, 1873" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Catherine C. Vann– "Lieutenant Colonel James Grant's Governorship of East Florida, 1763-1771" (M.A. thesis– completed).

University of South Florida

Joan Deming– "A research design for the assessment of cultural resources in the Manatee Region of Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress); "An archeological and historical survey of the Beker phosphate property in eastern Manatee County, Florida" (continuing study).

Jay Dobkin and Paul Camp (staff)– "The Second Seminole War Diaries of Dr. Ellis Hughes, 1838-1840" (continuing study).

Jamil Jreisat (faculty)– "Measurement of Productivity in St. Petersburg City Government" (continuing study).

Martin M. LaGodna (faculty)– "The Governors of Florida Since 1821" (continuing study).

S. Logan– "A Geographical Analysis of Port Manatee and Its Hinterland" (M.A. thesis in progress).

W. Ockunzzi– "Tampa, Florida as a Central City" (M.A. thesis in progress).

H. Schaleman (faculty)– "The Florida Keys" (research completed).

J. Stafford and H. Schaleman (faculty)– "Historical Geography of Egmont Key" (continuing study).

Curtis W. Wienker (faculty)– "An analysis of skeletal remains from Cockroach Key, Florida" (continuing study).

J. Raymond Williams (faculty)– "Archeological excavations at the Maximo Park Beach site in St. Petersburg, Florida" (continuing study).

University of Tampa

James W. Covington (faculty)– "History of Carlton, Fields, Ward, Emmanuel, Smith, and Cutler: 75 Years of a Florida Law Firm"; "Third Seminole War, 1854-1858" (continuing studies).

University of West Florida

William S. Coker (faculty)– "Papers of Panton, Leslie and Co." (continuing study); "Peter Bryan Bruin, Frontiersman and Judge" (research completed).

Lucius F. Ellsworth (faculty)– "Lumbering in Northwest Florida during the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" (continuing study).

Jan Holmlund– "Living History Farm Museums: A Feasibility Study for Pensacola" (M.A. thesis in progress).

James R. McGovern (faculty)– "Pensacola: A City in the Modern South, 1900-1945" (continuing study).

George F. Pearce (faculty)– "The United States Navy in Pensacola" (continuing study).

University of Wyoming

Thomas C. Kennedy (faculty)– "'Panton, Leslie and Company: An Agency of Commercial Diplomacy in the Floridas and Lower Mississippi Valley, 1780s-1810s" (continuing study).

BOOK REVIEWS

Three Voyages. By René Laudonnière. Translated with an introduction and notes by Charles E. Bennett. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1975. xxii, 232 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, preface, illustrations, map, appendixes, notes, index. $10.00.)

This handsome volume fills a gap in primary historical sources on a relatively little-known episode in the European exploration and settlement of America. Charles Bennett's graceful translation of René Laudonnière's eyewitness report of French attempts to colonize sixteenth-century Florida provides the first publication in modern English of the principal French account of their failure. It rates with the previous excellent translations of Spanish and other French accounts of the exploration and conquest of Florida.

Portraits of leading characters, photographs, maps, and drawings attractively illustrate the book. Among four bonus appendixes, previously unpublished pertinent material, one depicting plant life and Laudonnière's own description of the flora and fauna should interest naturalists. Laudonnière's portrayal of the land and aborigines is of value to geographers and anthropologists. Thorough annotation features the work. Bennett's excellent introduction furnishes ample historical background.

However, some interpretive assertions are questionable: Considering reports of earlier expeditions, including de Soto's, Narváez's, and Luna's, a letter from Fort Caroline hardly was "the first eyewitness account by a European of what is now the United States." Further, regardless of proclaimed French motives for establishing Fort Caroline, denying it as a base for piracy, French "*luteranos*" in Spanish Florida, flanking the route of the treasure fleets to Spain, sufficed for Spanish alarm. Finally, Bennett asserts that "Laudonnière's account deserves to stand alone." Though generally candid, it also is Laudonnière's vindication of his leadership in the debacle. Hence, reports of other participants also should be weighed for balance. For clarification, authoritative classification of the northeast Florida Indians as subgroups of the internally-warring Timucuan division should dispel seeming confusion about their designation.

Detracting from his objectivity, Laudonnière rationalizes French imposition on Florida's Indians for "the public good" while decrying "tyrannical and cruel conquest." He was against military measures "except when . . . [natives] do not want to pay attention to their obligations . . . so beneficial to them," i.e., the profits and influence of the colonizers. Laudonnière also reported, without question, 250-year-old Indians.

René Laudonnière does not emerge as a strong leader in his account. A military commander, he permitted his men to vote against him at critical times. They also disobeyed him, sometimes with his reluctant acquiescence. Though Jean Ribault commanded the French during the Spanish conquest, Laudonnière commanded weakened Fort Caroline while Ribault attempted a sea-borne attack against St. Augustine. Laudonnière's lax guard enabled the Spaniards to surprise his garrison. In fairness, France inadequately supported Laudonnière. Feeble French efforts to sustain themselves led to their defeat by Florida's formidable geography and aborigines, helping Menéndez render his *coup de grâce.*

The above criticisms do not lessen the essential value of Bennett's augmented translation, a welcome addition to our available knowledge of early America.

Seattle, Washington ROBERT A. MATTER

The Florida Experience: Land and Water Policy in a Growth State. By Luther J. Carter. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974. xvi, 355 pp. Preface, introduction, figures, illustrations, notes, epilogue, index. $15.00.)

If possible, I would oblige every resident of Florida to read *The Florida Experience.* My purpose would not be to entertain him, nor to give him an escape from it all, nor to enable him to read himself to sleep, but to force him to look squarely at the historical abuse of this environment and at Florida's possible futures.

The degradation of the Florida environment by Man, told as a consecutive historical narrative, will jolt the dullest, most self-centered sensibility. It was accelerated following World War

II, and it has resulted so far in the erosion of one-quarter of our beaches and the eutrophication of most of our large lakes. It has sucked down the water level in the aquifer in certain phosphate areas by fifty or more feet in the last twenty years.

But the most harmful destruction came earlier. It was in the form of draining in the Everglades area to produce agricultural lands. To finance this the state issued bonds, and to support them, wantonly sold its one asset, the public lands. It sold Hamilton Disston 4,000,000 acres and more at twenty-five cents an acre, much of it ecologically-sensitive land, although no one at the time realized how sensitive it was. Barron Collier was able to create a county and dominate it, because he owned seventy per cent of the land in it, also ecologically sensitive. Earlier still in the nineteenth century, Florida had wantonly donated lands to railroad enterprisers.

Dade County has a sewage disposal problem of such magnitude that it will require hundreds of millions of dollars to solve it, if at all. The Kissimmee River was not finally converted into a drainage ditch until the present decade, but this operation is generally recognized to have been mistaken and to be irreversible. Too often local governments have responded to special interests without regard to the quality of life within their jurisdictions. At present there are 450 of them, and even if they act primarily in the public interest, they pull in many opposite directions, for they operate under no broad statewide policy.

Luther Carter does not leave the reader wholly mired in the Slough of Despond. He informs you that there are still 700,000 acres of prime estuarian habitat in the state, and 900,000 acres in citrus trees (providing three-quarters of all citrus grown in the United States). South Florida is of course the critical area, and he says that it need not run out of fresh water if someone will make the right choices. He does not conceal the difficulty of those choices. Collier County, for instance, will encounter a shortage of water by the year 2000, unless it uses fully all its ground water.

The first requirement to save the environment, the author says, was to end Pork Chop rule. This was achieved by 1967. Since that time Florida has been a good example to other states. 1970 was a fine year for the Florida environment, largely due to the teamwork of private environmental societies and politicians with vision. Governor Reubin Askew called a conference in 1971

on the management of water in South Florida. Reconstruction began with it. In 1972 the legislature passed a farsighted Land and Water Management Act, which provided money to buy endangered lands and to set aside recreational lands, and it laid down guidelines for areas which were a critical concern because threatened with irreparable damage. By 1974 reliable polls indicated that seventy-two per cent of the voters in Florida wanted the state's resources under firm centralized control.

Carter's recommendations for survival are built on the premise that "Florida as the only subtropical region of the continental United States is . . . unique in its natural and esthetic endowment" (p. 318). Can any of us disagree? It follows then that we must strive to preserve Florida's uniqueness not only for ourselves but for the 25,000,000 tourists who visit here each year. We need them. Carter says there must be growth, and there can be, but it has to be kept out of areas which will break down under it, and steered into those which can accommodate it. All this requires a long-range state-wide policy. Such a policy in turn can be developed only if the citizens accept nature as a partner instead of, in Howard Odum's words, seeming determined to crowd it out and/or pave it over. Another condition necessary to such a policy is a change in our attitude toward the land. It is not a commodity. It must be the basis for community. If the people of Florida will act as a community, sometimes sacrificing private gain for common good, they can have their Florida and pass it on to coming generations. But if they rely upon what Adam Smith called the "invisible hand" to regulate our steps toward the future, then the end of Florida as a unique environment, indeed as a livable environment, is not far off.

University of Florida JOHN K. MAHON

John James Tigert: American Educator. By George Coleman Osborn. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1974. xvi, 544 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography of Tigert's publications, general bibliography, index. $15.00.)

The subject of this big book was a big man, physically and

intellectually. A son of a member of the Vanderbilt University faculty and a grandson of Bishop Holland N. McTyeire, one of the three men who founded that institution, John J. Tigert grew up in a stimulating milieu. He attended Webb School, a superior preparatory school, and was an outstanding student and athlete at Vanderbilt. After his graduation he went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. There he followed a pattern of study and travel long established by young Americans who went abroad.

On his return from Europe in 1907 Tigert joined the faculty of Missouri Central Methodist College, beginning a fifty-four year career in education. Two years later he became president of Kentucky Wesleyan College, and in 1911 he went to the University of Kentucky where he taught philosophy and demonstrated his interest in athletics and his unusual ability as a coach. Here, in 1916, he began his long and influential work in regional and national athletic associations.

During World War I Tigert served in Europe with the Y.M.C.A. and the Educational Corps of the A.E.F. He returned to Lexington in 1919 as professor of psychology. He broadened both his experience and his contacts in the next two years, and in 1921 he was appointed United States Commissioner of Education, the youngest man to hold that position up to that time. He attacked educational problems with enthusiasm and energy. In 1922-1923, for example, he travelled 55,000 miles and delivered scores of speeches eloquently pleading for greater public support of education. In 1924 he was even more active, going almost 60,000 miles, giving 150 addresses, and publishing thirty-five articles. With remarkable prescience, he proposed the establishment of a cabinet position, the Department of Education, Health, and Welfare.

In 1928 Tigert became president of the University of Florida, a post in which he was to make his greatest contribution to higher education. He found a struggling institution, a small faculty, an inadequate physical plant, and a heavy emphasis on athletics. As Commissioner of Education Tigert had been troubled by a widespread tendency toward overemphasis on athletics, excessive competition, and threats to amateurism. By 1921 he warned the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association that if the colleges did not act forcefully, intercollegiate competition in athletics would die– a sentiment echoed by Chancellor James H.

Kirkland of Vanderbilt who, with many other educators, shared Tigert's concern. In 1932 Tigert endorsed the organization of the Southeastern Conference, and in 1943 he was elected its president. He boldly attacked the prevalent pattern of subsidization of athletes and proposed a system of controlled athletic scholarships, a plan which was adopted by the Conference and later by the National Intercollegiate Athletic Association.

Early in his career at Florida Tigert realized that the rate of failure among freshmen was far too high. Overcoming heavy faculty opposition, he divided the college into upper and lower divisions. The curriculum of the first two years consisted of comprehensive courses, all required– Man and the Social World, Man and the Biological World, Man and the Physical World, Written and Spoken English, and the Humanities. Despite initial skepticism and criticism the General College (later University College) was a success, earning wide approbation for the University of Florida and its president.

George Osborn skillfully analyzes the manifold and complex problems which confronted Tigert– lack of financial support and public understanding of the nature of higher education and its relationship to economic and social progress, and, especially after World War II, an overcrowded campus. But Tigert was indefatigable and persuasive. When he retired he could be proud of a university with a sound curriculum, a Graduate School, a School of Forestry, a College of Business Administration, a College of Law, and an enrollment of over 7,000.

Tigert, like many of his colleagues, felt the strains involved in attempting to maintain high academic standards while fending off over-zealous advocates of semi-professional athletics. In his case the struggle was especially poignant, for "Long John" Tigert, captain of the football team at Vanderbilt, all-Southern half-back, champion punter, and successful coach, author of the athletic scholarship program, Phi Beta Kappa student, and Rhodes Scholar, probably was the only college president ever to be elected to the football Hall of Fame.

Professor Osborn has examined an impressive man of material and has told his story in great detail, perhaps excessively so. There are a few errors; e.g., Bishop McTyeire was not presi-

dent of Vanderbilt University, but they do not seriously mar this biography of an important figure in American education.

Vanderbilt University HENRY L. SWINT

Land from the Sea: The Geologic Story of South Florida. By John Edward Hoffmeister. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1974. 143 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, tables, selected bibliography, index. $7.95.)

This book is not an introduction to the geological history, formations, and topography of South Florida as is claimed. It is based largely upon the author's research on the carbonate rocks and deposits in the area of Miami and the Florida Keys. If one is interested in oolitic limestone, bryozoa, and corals then this is the book to read, but surely there is more to South Florida than this. The emergence of South Florida from beneath the sea began in the Paleozoic. Its long and fascinating history as interpreted from the underlying strata is not considered in this slim volume. No doubt the best exposed record of the last cycle of emergence of Florida during the Ice Age is on the Caloosahatchee River near La Belle. This is not mentioned. In fact, only 110 lines of text are devoted to the southwestern portion of Florida and this is a discussion of the Ten Thousand Islands. Even here the author neglects to discuss the fascinating oyster islands such as Chokoloskee and the worm reef islands such as Rabbit Key. Possibly we can forgive these oversights. However, it is impossible to recommend a popularly-written book that specifically neglects the area of Cape Sable and the Everglades National Park.

University of Florida H. K. BROOKS

The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages, A. D. 1492-1616. By Samuel Eliot Morison. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. xvii, 758 pp. Preface, illustrations, bibliography and notes, list of illustrations, maps, index. $17.50.)

All aboard for a joyous trip of exploration and discovery.

There will be storms and calms, mutinies and massacre, contemplation, celebration, observation, explanation, and even revelation. The trip includes departures and arrivals from around the coast of South America and along the Pacific up to Nova Albion, following the sun as it passes over the western empire of the Iberian crowns. With Admiral Morison as skipper and guide over the vast seas of paper, across or along with the tides and currents of documentation, neither the waves of fashionable argument will drown you, nor the calms of silent records drive you to despair. Through all, he will make you taste to the full the triumph and tragedy (of the first discoverer of America, chapter V) and you will persevere by the rules of "A Mariner's Day" (chapter VIII).

The Southern Voyages is the title of the second volume of *The European Discovery of America*, complementary to the *Northern Voyages* published in 1971. For readers of Admiral Morison's prior work there need be neither recommendation nor explanation. Who would forego the pleasure of repeating so rewarding an experience as joining his crew? And who could be left incurious about his exploration of knotty problems or want to miss his leads to new evidence? His spirit of continued probing is legendary and many a point of controversy is discussed in text and notes. The grand story is as grand and well told as one expects with many a new tale and detail added. Where the book repeats, one is grateful for the encore; where it adds, one is surprised. There are new names in the crew which makes up the fellow explorers in Admiral Morison's notes. Opinions he has stated on other occasions, in articles, reviews, or prior works, have produced echoes which he now records and assesses.

Among the popular controversies rank the dispute over the intent of Cabral's voyage, the route from Atlantic to Pacific, and the landfalls of Magellan, as well as the scene of his last fight, the location of Drake's Bay, and the genuineness of Drake's Plate. These are only the best known of the disputes which are discussed in the appended notes. Lest someone omit reading these because of their apparently technical nature, let him be forewarned that some of the most entertaining stories are hidden in them. The book covers beyond Drake, the voyages of Sarmiento

de Gamboa, of Thomas Cavendish and of Schouten and Le Maire.

Admiral Morison is a guide, not in search of himself but of the world which the explorers sought and which surrounds us. He bursts upon it with unquencheable thirst for adventure and infectuous enthusiasm to register everything he perceives with all five senses, and he puts it down with a sixth sense of what to choose and how to phrase it for maximum effect. He finds his friends in the past age of sail as he does in this of power and flight and archival exploration as well. Paper record, picture camera, and drawing pencil are made to serve his exacting demands to aid the imagination of the wanderer and to illustrate his argument for the stay-at-home.

The *Southern Voyages* represents a chance for new readers to discover Admiral Morison– author, traveler, naval person, and American treasure. To those who know his works beyond reconnaissance there is much to explore.

University of Arizona URSULA LAMB

In Defense of the Indians: The Defense of the Most Reverend Lord, Don Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, of the Order of Preachers, Late Bishop of Chiapa, Against the Persecutors and Slanderers of the Peoples of the New World Discovered Across the Seas. Edited by Stafford Poole. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974. xx, 385 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, translator's commentary. $25.00.)

All Mankind is One: A Study of the Disputation Between Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians. By Lewis Hanke. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974. xvi, 205 pp. Explanations and acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, summation, appendices, bibliography, index. $15.00.)

These two volumes complement the Lascasian studies collected and translated under the editorship of Juan Friede and Benjamin Keen, *Bartolomé de las Casas in History: Toward an*

Understanding of the Man and His Work, published in 1971 by Northern Illinois University Press and reviewed in this journal (LI, January 1973, pp. 318-21). They continue that press' joint commitment to specialization in Las Casas and to the values of superior bookmaking. Their cost is fully merited. Certainly Lascasians everywhere will welcome the first translation into English of Las Casas's *Apologia,* or *Defense,* against the assertions of Sepúlveda at Valladolid in 1550 that the aboriginal populations of the New World should be considered as natural slaves and that Spanish arms had Gospel sanction to coerce them to submit to Christianity.

For almost as many years as Spain had colonized American lands her countrymen had debated whether the Indians possessed sufficient "capacity" to become Christians and to govern themselves. Some, like Sepúlveda– humanist, chronicler, confessor of the emperor, philosopher, and theologian– argued that the Indians were an inferior race, perhaps less than human, and that armed force was justified in overcoming their opposition to the preaching of Christianity by missionaries. Sepúlveda was not reluctant to propose that, "War on the infidels is justified because it opens the way to the propagation of the Christian religion and eases the task of the missionaries." Other Spaniards, clerical and lay, took the view first expressed in a famous sermon given on Hispaniola in 1511 by Dominican Father Antonio de Montesinos (who would come to La Florida fifteen years later with the ill-fated expedition of Vázquez de Ayllón), that the Indians were fully developed human beings, possessing all the same rights and dignities as those claimed by Spaniards. "Are these Indians not men?" Fray Antonio asked. "Do they not have rational souls?" One of those who responded in the affirmative was fellow Dominican Las Casas, himself an *encomendero* with Indian slaves.

From 1514 until his death in 1566, Las Casas devoted his talents and energies to the vindication of Indian rights. In large measure due to his efforts, new laws governing treatment of the Indians were promulgated in 1542. Three years later, however, the laws that would have phased out the *encomienda* system were revoked, and the Spaniards opened the Indian question anew.

The bitterness of the ensuing controversy led Charles V to suspend all conquests in the New World until a specially ap-

pointed "Council of Fourteen," composed of theologians and jurists, should decide whether the methods of conquest were just– surely a remarkable moment in history, probably unparalleled before or since. At Valladolid the Council took up the question: Is it lawful for the King of Spain to wage war on the Indians, before preaching the faith to them, in order to subject them to his rule, so that afterward they may be more easily instructed in the faith? Sepúlveda spoke for three hours at the opening session. Las Casas spoke for the Indians on the second day. The debate went on for five days, until the Council could bear no more. And the results were inconclusive; indeed, the records of the Council's proceedings have not come to light. Sepúlveda's arguments are known to us from the carefully collated edition of his presentation published by the Latinist Angel Losada, *Democrates segundo o de las justas causas de la guerra contra los indios* (Madrid, 1951). Now Stafford Poole gives Las Casas's counter-arguments, translated for the first time into English from the Latin manuscript of the *Apologia,* preserved in manuscript form in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. (Losada has prepared a Spanish translation, but no notice has come of its publication.) Poole took on a task already begun by a member of the Dominican Order, but the final result is entirely his own, and a workmanlike job it is. The work has few faults that a reviewer can notice not having before him the original Latin text. The only real howler is Poole's report that the Spaniards came into the Americas "shooting rifles" (p. 298), when in fact they employed smoothbore weapons.

The translation is accompanied by a separate volume of commentary and bibliographical interpretation by the celebrated *Lascasista,* Lewis Hanke. Las Casas's published output was prodigious: apart from the present *Defense,* and some works that have been lost, five large volumes are required to print only his works written in Spanish. It may seem that as much has been written about Las Casas by the eminent Dr. Hanke, who promises that, "This is my last publication on Las Casas, as the time has come for me to turn to other projects long postponed." If Hanke can say, as he does here, that Las Casas's many works "might lead one to the conclusion that in reality he was always composing the same treatise," longtime readers of Hanke might be led to say the same about him. To be fair, this volume is his best. It does

rehearse material contained in his own and other studies, but it also produces new data and new interpretations which further enhance both Hanke's reputation as a scholar and Las Casas's place as a man for the ages. The reader resonates completely to his conclusion: "It is certainly clear today that inasmuch as his argument against Sepúlveda focused on one of the overriding themes of the modern world– the relations between peoples of different customs, capability, color, religion, and values– the *Defense* stands out starkly as one of the fundamental positions on the bitter and continuing conflicts that divide mankind."

University of Florida MICHAEL V. GANNON

Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution, Leadership in the American Revolution, Papers presented at the third symposium, May 9 and 10, 1974. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1974. ix, 135 pp. Introduction, notes. $4.50.)

These five papers summarize existing information and suggest viewpoints. There are some underlying ideas in most of them. Perhaps the most common idea is that Revolutionary leaders came initially from the colonial gentry, often the lower levels, and became more democratized as the war developed– hardly a revolutionary idea in itself. The ease of social and economic mobility in colonial America and rapid growth by mid-eighteenth century are also emphasized.

Alfred H. Kelly, in his look at political leadership points out that the "American myth" of superiority was helped by a synthesis in the Revolutionary era between constitutionalism, the Enlightenment, and rationalism. Constitutionalism, essentially conservative, created some conflict with the other ideas, but Jeffersonian liberals were able to combine and balance the three. The idea of the Declaration of Independence that the business of government was to maintain the public good, perhaps a new idea, was certainly emphasized in the Revolutionary era and since. This essay considers the development of revolutionary ideas and their use since.

Marcus Cunliffe in considering congressional leadership gives

the conflicting ideas of the period and of modern scholars about the Continental Congress. He points out the strengths and weaknesses of Congress and says that the basic question about its leadership was if the United States was one nation or thirteen. Cunliffe comes to no conclusions and shows inadequate understanding about the Congress.

Gordon S. Wood treats the democratization of the mind and emphasizes the union of intellectual and political leadership. Elitist leaders only had to appeal to their own class and could be more frank than democratic leaders since. Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* was the best example of political writing aimed at a mass audience, and this explains its very wide appeal. A mass appeal made for an increase in all types of printed matter, especially newspapers, and ended the political leadership of the upper class.

Don Higginbotham discusses military leadership and points out that the number of American officers from the gentry declined as the war progressed. Daniel Morgan is a prime example of how ability without background could lead to success in the Continental Army. Higginbotham emphasizes the fact that American commanders were not professionals, had considerable dealings with civilian officials, and did not create a permanent officer class.

Finally Bruce Mazlish in his look at the psychological dimensions of leadership shows inadequate knowledge about the history of the period– it is not his specialty– but talks about the American relationship to England as a child to his father/mother and the psychological effects of this.

These essays should arouse serious thought on the part of the readers. To this reviewer, the essays of Kelly and Wood offer the most useful ideas.

University of Georgia KENNETH COLEMAN

Party Politics in the Continental Congress. By H. James Henderson. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974. xv, 475 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, notes, tables, epilogue, bibliography, index. $15.00.)

James Henderson believes that the contributions of Congress

during the American Revolution have been underestimated and that to appreciate its achievements it is necessary to demonstrate greater continuity between the Continental Congresses and their successors. Apparently one way to do this is to demonstrate that Congress before 1789 was more modern than generally believed; the presence of partisan cleavages in the national politics of the 1770s and 1780s is proof of this fact. Unfortunately Henderson set out not simply to explore the nature of those cleavages, but rather to argue that there was a rudimentary legislative party politics that can be usefully analyzed in terms of the later evolution of the American party system. To do this, he employed the "powerful tool" of voting analysis, "in association with other sources and modes of inquiry"– records of Congress, correspondence of delegates, and contemporary newspapers and pamphlets.

It is probable, however, that most readers will be as puzzled as enlightened by the exposition, for much of the argument is less than explicit, and Henderson repeatedly appends reservations that leave one uncertain about what is actually claimed. It is, moreover, a pity that his opening chapters are the weakest ones, a fact that will undoubtedly lead many readers to lay the book aside before they discover its substantial contributions. The latter half of the book improves markedly, not only because the voting data available are more substantial after 1777, but also because Henderson gradually pays more attention to the sequence of events (developing a more narrative and less severely analytical approach), and because those chapters were written and added later to the early ones that formed the core of his 1963 Columbia University dissertation. Whatever the cause, it is clear that the book. is better than appears on first glance and that if one perseveres to 1789, the effort is well worth it.

Still, *Party Politics and the Continental Congress* is likely to remain a reference work for specialists rather than a book read by American Revolution buffs. And for this reason it is unfortunate that so many errors survived. E.g., neither General Schuyler nor Cornwallis was named "George" (pp. 104, 247); Congress fled to York, not Baltimore, in 1777 (p. 110); a Benjamin Harrison letter ought not be cited as the source for a Sam Adams quotation (p. 109 n6); and contrary to explicit assertions, both Patrick Henry and Silas Deane *did* attend the Second Con-

gress (pp. 103, 189). The case of Deane is especially important, for Henderson's account of him is sadly deficient, the more so because of the author's failure to understand that Deane's selection as agent abroad clearly derived from the reputation he earned for diligence as a delegate during the Second Congress. And it is curious that many important works, particularly doctoral dissertations, are ignored– a defect especially distressing in cases such as Henderson's controversial claim that Gouverneur Morris worked to obtain Franklin's recall from France in order to obtain a post abroad himself, a claim supported by no tangible evidence and mentioned in neither Mary-Jo Kline's excellent Columbia dissertation nor Max Mintz's published study of Morris during the Revolutionary era.

Yet many of Henderson's conclusions are valid, and the materials he presents to support them deserve careful consideration. "It was the administration of public finance rather than the philosophy behind it that had the greatest impact upon congressional politics" (p. 218); the periodization of partisan shifts is skilfully developed (p. 350); and, in general, events from the "Nationalist Dilemma" to the "Crisis of the Confederation," from 1781 to 1788, are thoughtfully and fruitfully analyzed. If he finally fails in applying his approach uniformly to the entire period from 1774 to 1789, the difficulty lies less with the author than with the disparateness of the events and experiences he attempts to analyze, and one must finally conclude that Henderson's effort to clarify the meaning of congressional politics during the Revolution merits considerable admiration.

Library of Congress PAUL H. SMITH

The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890. By Richard A. Bartlett. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. vi, 487 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $15.95.)

From the outset it should be noted that this is a different treatment of the frontier from that given in other social histories. The spirit of this book is one of a broad sweeping movement westward which generated varied human reactions. In fact it is

this spirit which holds the eight topographical groupings together in a loose kinship. Ignoring chronology, the author treats the elements of the frontier as if they had social bearings on the essential facts of the settlement of the continent.

No one will quarrel with Professor Bartlett about the myths of "tracklessness," of the "unknown" continent prior to the European invasion, or the invincibility, or lack of it, of the Indian. There were so many trails criss-crossing the land in 1776 that even the Indians and the buffalo had need of directional signs. The "unknown continent" has long given a romantic dimension to pioneering, and the invincibility of the Indian theory refutes the facts of history.

In dealing with the various phases of the westward movement the reader is kept ever conscious of the forces of expansion involving its various ingredients of overall results rather than the precise details of how it happened. In comparison with other works of comparable length, remarkably few local details find their way into the chapters. The author may be concerned with what had happened in the localities along the way, but his aim is to show the collective effects of the happenings. This is also true in his treatment of personalities; the westward movement is viewed more in terms of broad human progressions rather than in those of individual heroics. By comparison Bartlett is sparing in his treatment of the westward movement in terms of its personal victories, real and imagined. His humanity appears largely in terms of national and international groups and in the process of intermixing. The frontier people are cast against a vast and highly variegated panorama, which like one of the early western "roll" paintings extends the pattern with the passing scenes.

In an extensive grouping of chapters treating agriculture there are basic discussions of the way of agrarian life as adapted to the use of methods and tools at hand. Both the spread of the American farm and its adaptations to regional, environmental, and soil conditions are treated in continuity. Again without burdening the chapters with the local and technological details, the author gives a sense of the evolution of western farming as it emerged from a vast trial and error procedure; but more than this, the unfolding agricultural pattern on virgin land challenged American mechanical ingenuity. Bartlett suc-

cessfully intermixes the human, technological, and evolutionary facts with considerable skill. More precisely, farming on the frontier in the decades prior to 1890 was as much a way of American social life as an economic fact. It was when this way was challenenged or endangered by the rise of the machine and the industrial city that it became an uneasy course of life.

In his section "New Country Society," the author deals not only with the processes of human relationships on the land, with competitive and restrictive forces, with internal family relationships, but with society in its larger and maturing relationships to an age of expanded nationalism and economic change.

A final grouping of chapters deals with social expansion of the frontier in terms of the rise of cities and towns which inevitably grew out of the exploitation of the land and its resources. In the growing importance of the urban centers, humanity underwent changes in social and moral reactions. Here again Bartlett fits the American into a broad context in which the frontiersman and his institutions responded to economic and geographical pressures which made the growth of urban centers a major fact in national history. The city appears as an institutional handmaiden to the westward movement and the enlarged nationalization of the continent rather than as an independent historical fact.

This is a book which has to be read through to gather its full meaning. The absence of treatment of political history at times leaves a void in giving it full meaning. This same thing is true of the economic aspects of the frontier. These omissions might tend to give the uninitiated reader a one-sided view of the westward movement. Perhaps the topical treatment in the eight chapter groupings robs the reader of both a sense of continuity and of chronological relationships.

This text clearly reveals the fact that the author is a thoughtful, well-read scholar who judiciously digested his materials. If his extensive bibliography reflects his own reading experience he has an excellent sense of the literature of the westward movement. Bartlett writes in a bold, straight-forward manner, never hesitating to make appraisals of the westward movement in its various social aspects. Clearly he has established the westward movement and its various backwashes as a formative fact in American history. I could not refrain from speculating on

what I will do with this book in connection with a course in frontier history; I will want students to read it as a highly sophisticated overview of what happened in a major phase of the human frontier advance.

Eastern Kentucky University THOMAS D. CLARK

Allies For Freedom: Blacks and John Brown. By Benjamin Quarles. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. xiv, 244 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, bibliographical note, notes, index. $7.95.)

In 1906 members of the Niagara movement, a black civil rights organization, held their annual meeting at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Harpers Ferry was selected as the meeting place so the members could spend an entire day paying tribute to John Brown who had become a legend among blacks even before he went to the gallows. At six in the morning Brown's admirers left the convention site, Storer College, to make a pilgrimage to the "fort" where Brown had surrendered. As the marchers approached their destination they forked a single file procession, led by Owen M. Waller, a Brooklyn physician. Defying stubble and stone, Waller removed his shoes and proceeded barefoot as if walking on holy ground. Fifty years later black American's were still honoring John Brown. Malcolm X speaking to nonviolent white-liberals said, "if you are for me and my problems then you must be willing to do as old John Brown did." H. Rap Brown described John Brown as "the only white man I could respect and he is dead." John Brown has remained the most enduring white hero in the black community.

This book needed doing, and Professor Quarles has done it well. He has dissolved myth into reality, and the reality is an important contribution to black American history. It is a perceptive and compassionate examination of Brown's ties to the antebellum black community and a description of Brown's legacy among blacks. While Brown remains an enigmatic figure, his relationship to blacks becomes quite clear. He was concerned about the plight of both slave and free blacks long before his assault on Harpers Ferry. He sought black friendship as a peer,

forming intimate acquaintances with such leaders as Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman. Brown had met or corresponded with almost every significant black leader in the United States. Blacks recognized Brown as a man devoid of color prejudice and consumed by a desire to destroy slavery. Unlike many white abolitionists Brown did not share the virtually universal belief in black inferiority. He felt no strain in the presence of blacks on a peer basis. Brown's behavior and attitude toward blacks met the acid test in private conduct as well as in public advocacy.

The value of *Allies For Freedom* is not limited to Brown and his relationship with or effect on blacks. It is an engrossing, excellently written, impressively researched study of black American social and intellectual history.

Florida State University JOE M. RICHARDSON

The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Volume 2, June 1841-July 1846. Edited by James T. McIntosh. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974. xxxix, 806 pp. Introduction, acknowledgements, chronology, notes, list of sources, index. $20.00.)

Of Shakespeare's seven ages of man, this second volume of *The Papers of Jefferson Davis* presents Davis in his early middle age. Then he was more human, less austere, and less tightly controlled than when he became President of the Confederate States of America. He was emerging from the secluded life of a Mississippi planter to enter state and national politics. This volume contains very little information about his life as a planter, except that the tax rolls list him in 1845 as owning twenty-two cattle, sixty-one slaves between five and sixty years of age, and thirteen under five years of age. In 1842 he was pressed by the Democratic party of his county to become a candidate for the state legislature, and he was defeated by the Whig candidate. The intriguing question arises– why did Davis become a politician? Perhaps his rivals may have had an answer. According to John A. Quitman he was fiercely ambitious and selfish. Later in his career Albert G. Brown thought he had developed into an aristocrat, little concerned with the welfare of the common

people. One of the notable virtues of this volume is that it presents the obverse side of Davis's nature as well as the more favorable side, such as the warmth and tenderness of his feeling for family. An unusual contribution of this volume is its inclusion of extracts from Mississippi newspapers, both Democratic and Whig, reporting his numerous speeches as presidential elector in the summer of 1844. The Whig papers described his speeches as "a school boy declamation," "deficient in argument, and clarity, and full of demagogism," while the Democratic papers praised his musical voice, his sound reason, his argumentative powers, his elegant, calm, and deliberate manner, although they expressed the wish that he had more passion in his speeches. His speeches and his life demonstrate that he was obsessed with the southern ideal of honor.

This second volume brings out many fresh and interesting aspects of Davis's nature. For example, at a meeting to organize an Anti-Dueling Society at Vicksburg, both he and his brother Joseph opposed any outright prohibition of dueling, but advocated that the Anti-Dueling Society should make an effort "to prevent a resort to deadly weapons and to regulate such a resort." His letters to Varina Howell of Natchez, who became his second wife in 1845, show an unsuspected romantic, even sentimental, side of his nature. In this volume Davis displays at times an ironic wit as well as, during his amusing controversy with Andrew Johnson in Congress over his remarks about tailors and blacksmiths being unqualified for military campaigns, an aristocratic bias. He worked so hard in political campaigning and in Washington as a young congressman that his eyes became inflamed, and he suffered from severe nervous strain and the reoccurence of malaria. His rigid principles of political action were, with two exceptions, the orthodox doctrines of the Democratic party of the time– free trade, strict construction of the Constitution, an independent treasury instead of the revival of a national bank, the annexation of Texas, and a declaration of war against Mexico. The two exceptions were his strong condemnation of the nativist movement and his speech opposing the giving of immediate notice of the termination of the joint occupation treaty with Great Britain of the Oregon territory. His position was that the United States should encourage emigration by providing army protection, and then after it had a strong

settlement and a military force in Oregon give notice of the termination of the treaty, but be willing to accept the extension of the forty-ninth parallel to the Pacific as the northern boundary.

The editors deserve great praise for a remarkable job of editing, especially the footnotes which afford a rich mine of the history of Mississippi during the antebellum period. The voluminous footnotes are indicated by the inclusion of forty-three pages of notes for one eight-page document. The editors end this volume with his election as colonel of the First Mississippi Regiment in the Mexican War, which reveals Davis's *eagerness* to fight for glory and renown despite the strenuous opposition of his wife.

University of Kentucky CLEMENT EATON

Louisiana Reconstructed, 1863-1877. By Joe Gray Taylor. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974. xii, 552 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. $20.00.)

Heretofore no overall treatment of Louisiana Reconstruction has appeared in print. John R. Ficklen's study (1910) goes only to 1868, Ella Lonn's (1918) starts with that year, Willie M. Caskey's (1938) covers the period 1860-1866, and Garnie W. McGinty's (1941) limits itself to the years 1876-1880. Many historians have produced books or articles on particular phases of the subject, but except for the author of an unpublished dissertation, scholars have shied away from undertaking a general account. Perhaps they have been intimidated by the length of the Reconstruction process and the complexity of Reconstruction politics in Louisiana– a length and a complexity greater than in any other state.

Now Joe Gray Taylor has come forth with a comprehensive history of the subject, and a truly comprehensive volume this is. It contains thorough chapters not only on political events but also on economic, social, and cultural developments, with a particularly illuminating discussion of the rise of the sharecropping system. The author makes extensive use of both the abundant

monographic literature and the available manuscript collections, among them the William Pitt Kellogg papers at Louisiana State University and the Henry Clay Warmoth papers at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. He has had access to sources far richer than those accessible to Ficklen, Lonn, Caskey, or McGinty. He also excels those predecessors in other ways. Each of them labored under the influence of the Dunning school (though none was a Dunning student). He, by contrast, has a balanced point of view, without a tinge of racism. And he writes much better than they, conducting the reader expertly through the maze of Louisiana politics.

The reader may balk occasionally. This one cannot go along with the assertion (p. 23) that President Lincoln in his ten-per cent plan of December 1863 required the seceded states, before readmission, to recognize the "permanent freedom" of all the slaves. Most present-day historians seem to share that notion, yet the fact is that Lincoln only required an oath to abide by existing acts of Congress and proclamations of the President with reference to slaves ("so long and so far as not repealed, modified or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court"), and at that time neither legislation nor proclamations provided for the final and complete abolition of slavery. Nor can this reviewer accept, without qualification, the statement (p. 33) that "the troops in blue" were "just as prejudiced against black people as were southern slave owners." Actually, as anyone will discover who samples many Union soldier letters, the Yankee attitudes ranged widely, from extreme to mild or almost nonexistent Negrophobia. To raise such objections, however, is rather captious in the case of a work so fine. It is not only the best account of Reconstruction in Louisiana; it is the best of all the state studies of Reconstruction.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro RICHARD N. CURRENT

Richard Irvine Manning and the Progressive Movement in South Carolina. By Robert Milton Burts. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1974. viii, 259 pp. Introduction, illustrations, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. $9.95.)

Born in 1859 to a distinguished planter family, Richard Irvine Manning entered South Carolina politics as a Conservative opposed to Ben Tillman's farmer movement. In 1892 he was elected to the South Carolina house; he won a term in the state senate in 1898, and returned unopposed in 1902. Professor Burts argues that while in the General Assembly, Manning displayed an "incipient progressivism" consisting of efforts to achieve revision of the tax structure, regulation of trusts, electoral reform, good roads, public health legislation, reform of the Dispensary (the state liquor monopoly), educational reform, and workmen's compensation.

Manning made his first race for governor in 1906, landing in the second primary ahead of Cole Blease, but losing that contest to Martin F. Ansel, who offered a clearer and more consistent stand on the Dispensary. For the next eight years Manning devoted himself to personal interests– farming, banking, and manufacturing. Nevertheless, he retained his interest in public affairs by lecturing, by helping to secure a new city commission-city manager form of government for Sumter, and by serving as a Wilson supporter in South Carolina's delegation to the 1912 Democratic convention.

In 1914, with Blease running for the United States Senate, Manning entered the race for governor. He campaigned, as he would again in 1916, against the lawlessness and sale of pardons and probations with which he charged the Blease administration. Finishing second in the first primary, Manning united the anti-Blease vote in the second to defeat John G. Richards. He would repeat this trick against Blease himself in 1916.

Burts explains Manning's 1914 gubernatorial victory as the result of bitterness created by the Blease administration. Ben Tillman's agrarian revolt of the 1890s against the Conservatives had been followed by the efforts of Blease to unite former Tillmanites and the cotton mill operatives in favor of his repeated candidacies. With the electorate splintered, Blease's cotton mill worker constituency twice made him governor. But the abuses of

his regime with regard to law enforcement stimulated the Manning candidacy of 1914.

Manning's electoral support came from prosperous Tillmanites and the remaining Conservatives. Yet Manning did not share the laissez-faire views of the Bourbons. He concerned himself with "economic democracy and with social welfare." Burts sees four elements in the Manning program: education, based on the common schools; state responsibility for the economic welfare of the people; state responsibility for care of the handicapped, the mentally- or physically-ill, and criminals; and financial responsibility based on a sound tax structure. Among permanent reforms which Manning achieved were adoption of the Australian ballot, compulsory education, a school for the feebleminded, a girl's reformatory, a department of public welfare, a state highway department, and a state tax commission.

Richard Irvine Manning and the Progressive Movement in South Carolina is a well-written and well-researched book. However, the title is somewhat deceptive. There is little evidence offered here that Manning represented or led a significant progressive movement. Manning seems to have won both of his gubernatorial victories as the enemy of Bleasism, rather than as a prophet of progressivism.

This reviewer would find fault with the book in only one respect. The book evidently emerged from Professor Burt's 1957 doctoral dissertation. The fact that the bibliography contains no thesis or dissertation accepted after 1954, no article published after 1955, and no book published after 1956 would suggest that Professor Burts has failed to update his work since 1957.

University of Florida STEPHEN KERBER

Four Centuries of Southern Indians. Edited by Charles M. Hudson. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1975. vi, 177 pp. Acknowledgements, introduction, notes, sources cited, maps, illustrations, contributors, index. $7.50; $3.00 paper.)

This volume is a collection of nine essays by anthropologists and historians regarding Native American populations in the

Southeast United States. *Four Centuries of Southern Indians* derives its title from the time range of the articles' subject matter– four centuries– which mirrors the period of European and American involvement with aboriginal peoples in the Southeast.

The editor's introduction to the volume points out the relationships (or lack of them) between historical and anthropological studies of historical period Amerindians. Hudson contends that more ethno-historical investigations of southeastern Native Americans are needed to give these people their proper place in history– both white people's and red people's history.

The lead article, "Relations between the Eastern Timucuan Indians and the French and Spanish 1564-1567," by James W. Covington makes use of well-known documentary sources, especially the accounts of the Frenchmen Jacques Le Moyne and René Laudonnière, to summarize the aboriginal-European contact situation. Because the author does not cross-check these sources with known anthropological data, he makes the same errors that previous historians and anthropologists working with the French documents have made. I will elaborate on some of these problem areas since they have unfortunately found their way into popular literature, museum exhibits, etc.

Prehistorically and at the time of contact the various Timucuan tribes (they were not confederacies) were composed of five to twenty or more separate villages which often did have a strong central authority who resided at the main village or "capitol" and whose power was validated by religion and by other cultural beliefs and practices. This organization broke down rapidly in the historic period. The "dominance and power of each village" (p. 12) did *not* depend "upon its ability to wage battle and survive during the eternal state of warfare" (p. 12). Clans and villages were ranked according to culturally defined values and criteria. Also, warfare was not an eternal state. Raiding parties went out in the late winter-early spring after the hunting season and before spring planting. Because a large percentage of the population was needed for subsistence activities, the Saturiba and other Timucuan tribes could never effectively fight one another or the Europeans. The Spanish quickly learned that to subdue aboriginal rebellions they had only to burn the fields and stored foodstuffs, causing the warriors to return home to help feed the villagers.

The account of Le Moyne, which is taken almost in its entirety from the narratives of Laudonnière and the other Frenchmen, and the Le Moyne (DeBry) engravings can no longer be accepted wholesale as ethnographically valid. Certainly the description of the aborigines planting in the fall (p. 13) is in error, as are the pictures of the hoes with which they plant. Only those ethnographic traits which can be verified from other sources should be accepted and utilized for interpretation. Lastly, the basic division of the Timucuan tribes cited by Covington (pp. 11-12) is no longer valid. The Tocobaga have never been proven to have been Timucuan speakers. In fact, all evidence points to the opposite. Also, the Ocale and Potano should be included with the western Timucua.

"Did a Tuscarora Confederacy Exist?" by Douglas W. Boyce is an excellent example of how history and anthropology can complement one another to solve problems in red people's history. Cultural data concerning aboriginal political and social organization is linked with documentary evidence to demonstrate that there was no Tuscarora confederacy by 1711, although villages did ally themselves for various self-serving purposes.

The two articles by James H. O'Donnell, III, and Jack D. L. Holmes treat the southern aborigines during the Revolutionary War and their relations with the Spanish during the 1790s, respectively. Although well-documented studies, both are traditional in their approach to red people's history as the history of white activities vis-a-vis Indians. Readers seeking information on the Seminoles during this 1775-1800 period will find them mentioned only once in each article.

"Myths and Realities in Indian Westward Removal: The Choctaw Example" by Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr., seeks to expose the misinformation regarding Indian Removal as evidenced by descriptions in American history textboks. Covered in the article are the topics: land acquisition by negotiation, sedentism in Indian territory, and the relationships of various soldiers, Indian agents, and missionaries to the Choctaw.

The articles by John H. Peterson, Jr., Raymond D. Fogelson, and Albert L. Wahrhaftig are as traditionally anthropological in their approaches to their respective topics as are the approaches of Covington, O'Donnell, and Holmes traditionally historical. However, if we are ever to understand the actions of red people,

whether past, present, or future, then we must understand the cultures of red people. This, as Hudson notes (p. 5), is what anthropology can offer history.

The final article by Charles Crowe is a descriptive history of red, white, and black racial prejudice in America. Crowe's paper will perhaps stimulate other researchers to begin seeking historical-materialist explanations for such racism.

Four Centuries of Southern Indians is a welcome addition to the literature on the aboriginal cultures of the southeastern United States. It is even more valuable as one of the first attempts to bring historians and anthropologists together in order to investigate jointly areas of common interest. Such interdisciplinary research can only prove beneficial to both.

Florida State Museum JERALD T. MILANICH

The Last Americans: The Indian in American Culture. By William Brandon. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974. 553 pp. Acknowledgments, poetry, notes, pronunciation guide, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

Those who maintain that history is a science and not an art will probably not appreciate fully the magnitude of Brandon's contribution in *The Last Americans.* He maintains that most historians have, unfortunately, approached Native American studies from the wrong perspective; rather than emphasize the effect which Indians have had on American history, historians have usually examined the effects of whites and their progeny on Indian culture and institutions. This approach may mirror well the development of white America on this continent, but almost inevitably it illuminates little of the Indian world which in many ways helped to shape the America of today. Like an artist bringing life to a dead canvas, Brandon sets about with broad strokes recapturing the culture and spirit of Native America in a torrent of words that portray Indians as central figures in the drama that is America.

Originally Brandon's narrative was, in much the same form, the text of the popular *American Heritage Book of Indians.* Stripped of the extravagant accouterments that are the trade-

mark of the *American Heritage,* especially color photographs, the narrative stands forth as a brilliant synthesis of a people who have influenced mightily their conquerors. Rather than offering a damning indictment of whites, Brandon prefers to dramatize the thesis that American history is incomplete without the Indian side of the story. Names, dates, and even sequence are unimportant in this volume; what is important is the effort to cast aside the "uncivilized savage" myth and recapture the cultural essence of a people who still remain a mystery to most of those who have walked among them for centuries.

Using for his sources a good selection of published volumes and articles rather than primary material, the author offers a view of Indian development from earliest times to approximately the close of the nineteenth century. After describing in early chapters pre-white Indian evolution, Brandon moves from section to section in North America introducing tribes and individuals, as well as the problems caused in each by whites. Interspersed are chapters on important topics such as removal and reservations. But, in the main, Brandon steers clear of a topical or sequential organizational pattern, preferring to identify sectional and individual cultural differences which provoked an almost predictable response from Europeans who came among tribesmen and understood them not.

As is true in any general portrayal of so broad a subject, the author can be accused of periodic overstatement. Also, at times he dwells at needless length on certain themes, events, or people, while shunning others of equal or greater importance. But in this case overstatement or neglect does not really mar the narrative. The author has endeavored, from the first page onward, to tell a neglected story– the Indian side of things– and to show what those from alien cultures so little realize, that the "Indian world was and is essentially a world of the spirit" (p. 460). The result is a significant volume that should be read, pondered, and reread by thoughtful people who value understanding.

The University of Mississippi ARTHUR H. DEROSIER, JR.

Proceedings of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, Volume V, Indians of the Lower South: Past and Present. Edited by John K. Mahon. (Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1975. ix, 158 pp. Introduction, notes. $5.00 paper.)

The aim of this conference, held in Pensacola in February 1974, was to assemble a collection of scholars, educators, and laymen who share an interest in the native people of the lower South. Those who organized the conference are to be commended for having included a substantial number of participants who have some degree of Indian ancestry. All too often the native Americans have been the mute objects of conferences– talked about but not listened to. And John K. Mahon is to be commended for editing this volume and getting it into print so promptly.

One expects the quality of invited papers to be uneven, and this volume is no exception. I shall limit my remarks to the papers which substantially contribute to our knowledge and understanding of the southeastern Indians and to those which are useful in other respects. Scholars who are actively doing research on the southeastern Indians will be interested in Samuel Proctor's brief description of the oral history project of the University of Florida and of the holdings at their Center for the Study of Southeastern Indians. This unique collection of taped and transcribed interviews is a most valuable resource for scholars who are interested in the sociology and recent history of the southeastern Indians. Also useful is James A. Servies's succinct survey of the more accessible published first-hand accounts of the southeastern Indians from Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1528 to observers in the 1830s.

In the space of a few pages Robert Ferguson identifies what is perhaps the most crucial problem in the social history of the southeastern Indians: namely, the almost unimaginable disruption of the native peoples as a consequence of epidemic diseases and European conquest and dispossession. It will take the very best in imaginative historical scholarship to forge links between the brilliant late Mississippian cultures of the Southeast, with their monumental earthworks and distinctive iconography, and the crushed and dispirited people who were forcibly driven from

their ancestral home in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Indian removal, as Mary Young argues in her excellent paper on the Cherokee case, was no tragedy– it was an atrocity.

Several papers in this volume touch upon another major problem in the social history of the southeastern Indians. Quite simply it is the problem of the social meaning of being a contemporary southeastern Indian. What is the connection between being a southeastern Indian in the 1500s and being a southeastern Indian in the 1970s? What does it mean to be an Indian in a society which strenuously sought to purge itself of Indians in the 1830s? Some insight into this problem can be gained from John K. Mahon's report on a panel discussion of the white man's image of the Indians, by panelists who are themselves Indian. Additional insight can be gained from Adolph Dial's paper on the Lumbees and J. Anthony Paredes's paper on the Eastern Creek Indians.

Some of the papers are intended for educators rather than for scholars. The suggestions for improving classroom instruction on southeastern Indians in the paper by Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland and the paper by John Peterson will be helpful to teachers in correcting some of the biases and deficiencies of the past.

University of Georgia CHARLES HUDSON

Mark Twain & the South. By Arthur G. Pettit. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1974. x, 224 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendix, notes, primary sources, index. $9.75.)

For the historian and literary man alike Mark Twain has always been a puzzle of contradictions and inconsistencies. He was born and reared in Florida, Missouri, ironically enough; Hannibal was where he spent his early years. Samuel L. Clemens was a "border Southerner" whose life and opinions typified all the ambivalencies, indecisions, and ambiguities that this term implies. His loyalties were divided between South and North, his literary genius of an indeterminate sort– was he a tragic or a comic writer?– and his inclinations made him by turns a Negro-lover, a

nigger-hater, a staunch Confederate, and an unregenerate Yankee, to mention merely a smattering of the myriad contradictions which wracked his soul and seared his mind during all of his adult life.

Mark Twain & the South is a masterful summary of the nature and effects of these contradictions, which Professor Pettit traces through Mark Twain's literary works– both good and bad – as well as his journals and correspondence. Pettit makes remarkable use of his extensive sources, weaving his way skillfully through both published and unpublished materials, so that the reader obtains an intimate insight into the many conflicts and complications that distorted Mark Twain's vision both of himself and his world.

Dominating this vision were his attitudes toward the South and toward the Negro race. In *Huckleberry Finn,* which Pettit terms his masterpiece, Mark Twain's greatest concentration of effort was levelled at "the five Southern Institutions" that he considered most characteristic: slavery, violence, bigotry, ignorance, and the jejune romanticism of Sir Walter Scott. And though slavery disappeared, the other four stayed "alive and flourishing," at least as long as he lived– and in many people's opinions still survive, tragically enough.

The novels which are associated with *Huck Finn* were overshadowed by Mark Twain's gradual disillusionment with the South and society in general– of which he considered the South a microcosm. *Tom Sawyer, Pudd'nhead Wilson,* and the little-known *Simon Wheeler, Detective,* all contain germs of this disenchantment, as indeed does *Huck Finn.* Blacks and whites alike are plagued by the violence of their southern heritage and the curse of their southern blood. Mark Twain's attitude toward both races, as well as that toward the South itself, was in constant flux. *Huck Finn* was an idyll of the Mississippi River– to which he later returned, to be forever disgusted with its filth and pollution. In his early years he joined the Confederate army for two inchoate weeks– which became for him in turn a period of heroic action and fun-loving boys' play. Nigger Jim, a "complex and original creation" in *Huck Finn,* with a certain nobility, becomes a gibbering Black Sambo in the books he subsequently appears in. And in his final long piece of fiction about the South, an unfinished story called "Which Was It?" Mark Twain comes

full circle and writes about the overthrow of white power by black power, with a "superhuman mulatto" hero, Jasper, who bears a remarkable resemblance to Malcolm X.

There are other resemblances to twentieth-century actualities in Pettit's final estimate of Mark Twain. For what identifies him as a true Southerner– like Faulkner's Quentin Compson– is his utter and final surrender to despair. His attitude toward the past "as pathos and calamity . . . his fascination with time and place, his excruciating sense of racial conflict, and his inability to do anything about it– all this prefigures what we now call Southern writing. . . . To take seriously Mark Twain's last writings about the South is to realize that . . . there would be . . . no catharisis of the white conscience, no final purging of white guilt, and no notion that black and white might ever live in equality and brotherhood. With this message Mark Twain ended his career as commentator on the South and the black race." One wonders whether he would have changed his mind if he had died in 1970 instead of 1910.

University of South Florida EDGAR W. HIRSHBERG

The Political South in the Twentieth Century. By Monroe Lee Billington. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975. xiii, 205 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, tables, bibliographical essay, index. $8.95; $3.95 paper.)

Described in the preface as "a brief, general, up-to-date, interpretive account of southern politics in the twentieth century," Professor Billington's latest work is all of these things. It is also competent, rather stodgy, and at times infuriating (multitudes of quotations without citation and the whole text (book?) lacking a single footnote). Such a review, obviously gleaned from secondary accounts– the author leans a little too heavily on George Tindall– should have been more entertaining, though a certain Balkanization is inevitable when one deals with all of the various southern states. The reader will look in vain for reference to Al Smith's southern campaign, the southern literacy renaissance, segregation in New Deal agencies such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, James Meredith and the Ole Miss crisis, the

courageous blacks of Mississippi in the 1950s, the causes of the depression, and the exciting story of agricultural revolution in the 1930s. The inadequate index makes no mention of Will Alexander, the AAA of 1938, Ross Barnett, William Faulkner, John Doar, Burke Marshall, Aaron Henry, Cordell Hull, the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, the KKK in the last quarter of a century, and dozens of other items that should be there.

The seven sections of the book are episodic in nature, beginning with Progressive politics, World War I, and the great depression; in these the gradual emergence of the South from the poverty of economics and ideas is as significant as race. In the final 100 pages civil rights and the black revolution lead the way to a new southern Republicanism and the demise of the one-party system. In his evaluation of various elections, Billington plays the usual numbers games (southern strategists seem always on the verge of throwing presidental elections into the House of Representatives), and he sees Harry Truman as primarily a man of expediency. He has undertaken a largely thankless task of summarizing three quarters of a century of southern politics, and for this students of the subject should be grateful.

University of South Florida JAMES W. SILVER

BOOK NOTES

The fifteenth edition of *The Florida Handbook*, 1975-1976, compiled by Allen Morris, has been published by the Peninsula Publishing Company, Tallahassee. *The Florida Handbook* series was begun in 1947, and it is accepted today as the most complete and accurate Florida handbook available. It is particularly useful for anyone having questions about Florida government, but there is also information on education, history (including a chronology of important historical events), weather, literature, fishing, agriculture, population, and many other subjects. The state constitution, with all its amendments, is included. Allen Morris, who since 1966 has been Clerk of the Florida House of Representatives, is the author of many books dealing with Flor-

ida. He is the founder of the State Photographic Archives, and has received numerous awards and honors as a result of his activities. The price of *The Florida Handbook* is $8.95.

Alachua County: A Sesquicentennial Tribute was edited by John B. Opdyke, and he also wrote the first chapter entitled "Beginnings." Other chapters deal with the county before Florida became part of the United States, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and developments during the past three decades. Norman LaCoe, Helen Cubberly Ellerbe, Sara Drylie, Arthur P. Spencer, and Merlin G. Cox have also contributed to this monograph. Of special importance are the many illustrations showing early views of Gainesville, the University of Florida, and surrounding communities. Published by the Alachua County Historical Commission, the book sells for $3.65. Order from Collector's Shop, Florida State Museum, Museum Road, University of Florida, Gainesville 32611.

John Muir's Longest Walk retraces with photographs the 1,000-mile journey made by the renowned naturalist from Louisville, Kentucky, to Cedar Key, Florida, in 1867. Muir, only twenty-nine at the time, kept a journal which was later published in book form— *A Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf*. John Earl, the well-known Georgia photographer, retraces Muir's route down through Kentucky and Tennessee to Savannah, Georgia, and then by boat through the Sea Islands to Fernandina. Muir followed the route of the Florida Railroad to Cedar Key, arriving there October 23, 1867. Along the way Muir saw and recorded his impressions of nature, plants, trees and wild flowers, places, and people. In a series of seventy full-color photographs, John Earl has recaptured the great beauty of the South as viewed by Muir over a century ago. The pictures taken in Florida include views of Fernandina, Orange Lake, the San Felasco Hammock near Gainesville, a cabbage palmetto hammock near Archer, and Sea Horse and Cedar Keys. Excerpts from Muir's published journal are used to describe the photographs. The book was published by Doubleday & Company, Garden City, New York; it sells for $30.00.

Tempestuous Triangle: Historical Notes on Washington

County, Florida is by Elba Wilson Carswell, one of West Florida's most prolific and best-known writers of local history. The nation's Bicentennial celebration, the growing awareness of Florida's rich historic past, and the insistence upon knowing more about this heritage, is responsible for a series of Florida county histories which are now being published. *Tempestuous Triangle* was written for the Washington County School Board. The county had its beginnings in the sixteenth century when explorers and colonizers like Cabeza de Vaca moved into the area. During the eighteenth century there was Spanish and British activity in what is now Washington County. John Lee Williams, writing in 1827, was the first modern writer to comment on Washington County which had been created by the territorial council two years earlier. Mr. Carswell traces the history of the county through the territorial period into statehood, and he describes the steamboat era, Civil War blockade-running and salt-making, and the construction of the first railroads. Lumbering, naval stores, and farming were always important to the county's economy, and their development is recorded in this volume. There is also much folklore, many pictures, and an index and bibliography which makes this volume very useful. Mr. Carswell secured some of his data by interviewing old-timers of the area. *Tempestuous Triangle* may be ordered from the Washington County School Board, Chipley, and the price is $15.00.

Another volume recently added to the growing shelf of Florida county histories is a *History of Martin County*, compiled by Janet Hutchinson and edited by Emeline K. Paige. The earliest inhabitants of present-day Martin County were the Indians, described briefly by Bartholome Barrientos in the sixteenth century. In the fall of 1696, Jonathan Dickinson, his wife, infant son, and their party were wrecked on Jupiter Island. Dickinson's book, published after he reached Philadelphia, describes their experiences as the survivors moved by foot up the coast to St. Augustine. The Florida east coast was strategically important because it paralleled the Bahama Channel, the sea route for Spanish treasure ships. The coast was treacherous, particularly during the hurricane season. In June of 1715, a Plate Fleet was sailing from Havana with a large amount of treasure. A vicious hurricane wrecked fourteen of the fifteen vessels along

the shore in the St. Lucie Inlet-Cape Canaveral area. Much of the cargo was salvaged by the Spanish after the storm, but in recent years salvage leases have been granted both to amateur and professional treasure hunters, including the Martin County Historical Society. Although there were earlier settlers in what is now Martin County, it was not until 1803 that the records list James A. Hutchinson as a land owner. The *History of Martin County* describes the area's involvement in the Second Seminole War and notes that settlers moved in to acquire land offered under the Armed Occupation Act of 1842. In the period after the Civil War, ships frequently were wrecked, and sailors and other survivors needed help and care. To meet this need, the United States Life-Saving Service authorized construction of Houses of Refuge on the Florida east coast. The only one surving is Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge, now operated as a museum by the Martin County Historical Society. This volume includes biographical sketches of early settlers, and chapters on blacks, churches, industries, health conditions, tourism, and farming history. The history of the county's cities and towns is also included. There are many pictures and a useful index. The Martin County Historical Society authorized this publication by its affiliate, Gillbert's Bar Press, Hutchinson Island. The book is available from the Society, 888 N. E. MacArthur Boulevard, Hutchinson Island, Stuart, Florida 33494. It sells for $14.50.

Holy Cross Church: The First Hundred Years traces the history of "the mother church of Central Florida" from its establishment at Sanford in 1873 to the present. Since most of the church records were destroyed by fire, newspapers and extant historical records were utilized to compile this pamphlet. Pictures of the church leadership are included.

The Reception Center is the story of the Army Reserve Unit stationed in Gainesville, and it covers the twenty-five year period from 1950 to 1975. It was written by Jack M. Holland of *The Chiefland Citizen,* Chiefland, Florida 32626. It sells for $2.00.

Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress was compiled by Ezra J. Warner and W. Bucks Yearns. Each sketch includes place and date of birth, family background, education,

means of livelihood, politics, and the public service records of a member of the Confederate Congress. Many members were almost lost to history, and the reconstruction of their careers constitutes one of the great values of this volume. Florida's two Confederate senators, James M. Baker and Augustus E. Maxwell, and her three representatives, James B. Dawkins (who resigned December 8, 1862), James M. Martin (elected to fill the vacancy caused by this resignation), and Robert B. Hilton, are included. This is a valuable reference work. In addition to biographical data, the appendices list the sessions of the Confederate Congress, its standing committees, and membership of the Congress by state. Published by the Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, the book sells for $15.00.

First on the Land: The North Carolina Indians, by Ruth Y. Wetmore, traces the history of the several tribes who have lived in North Carolina from about 1600 to the present. Population statistics are based upon the findings of John R. Swanton. Three linguistic groups settled in the four geographic areas of North Carolina: Algonquians on the coast; Iroquoians, including the Tuscarora on the coastal plain; and Siouan in the Piedmont. The Cherokee, another Iroquoian group, settled in the western North Carolina mountains. Data on the daily life of the Indians, myths and legends, and festivals and celebrations are included. Among the contemporary North Carolina Indians described are the Cherokee, Lumbee, Tuscarora, Haliwa, Coharie, and Waccamaw-Siouan. The University of Florida's Indian Oral History Program is collecting data on the Cherokee, Lumbee, and Tuscarora. *First on the Land,* published by John F. Blair, 1406 Plaza Drive, S. W., Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27103, sells for $8.95.

The Eastern Cherokees is a reproduction of a census made in 1851 of Cherokees living east of the Mississippi River. They had successfully resisted the forced march under John Ross in 1838 to the Indian lands in the West. The census covers Indians living in North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia. It was compiled by David W. Siler for the Department of Indian Affairs, and the original document is in the National Archives in

Washington. Published by Polyanthos, Inc., 811 Orleans Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70116, it sells for $15.00.

The Foxfire Project, under the direction of Eliot Wigginton at Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School in Georgia, and its magazine, *Foxfire*, have earned a national reputation, although only a decade old. Foxfire is a learning process enabling high school-aged youth to acquire vocational skills, to develop relationships with individuals, and to learn about the history and traditions of their communities. To generate interest among his apathetic and bored English and geography students, Wigginton suggested the idea of developing a magazine. Its contents would come from oral history interviews with older members of the North Georgia community about superstitions, old home remedies, weather signs, and local lore. The concept and the magazine proved very successful. Some sketches were published in book form in 1972, and the work became a best seller. *Foxfire II* followed, and now *Foxfire III* has been published by Anchor Press/Doubleday. The paperback edition sells for $4.95.

Melbourne Sketches: A Souvenir of Melbourne on the Indian River, Brevard County, Florida is volume six in the Local History Series of The Kellersberger Fund of the South Brevard Historical Society. It is a collection of sketches of Melbourne, drawn by Louis J. Hole and published in 1895. All of the sketches are identified with historical background and present status. Order from: Kellerberger Fund, Campus Box 5847, Florida Institute of Technology, Melbourne, Florida 32901.

Possum Cookbook, America's Amazing Marsupials and Dozens of Ways to Cook Them is by E. W. Carswell. The idea for this collection of information about "possums" came as a result of the annual Wausau Funday festivities in West Florida. It was here that a possum auction was held in 1974. "Superior possums" live in West Florida, particularly the Choctawhatchee River basin area. They are considered a great delicacy, and Mr. Carswell has searched out the recipes of gourmet and soul-food cooks. The sketches are by Frank Roberts. The booklet sells for $2.50, from the *Washington County News*, Box 627, Chipley, Florida 32428.

Kenneth Nebenzahl, the noted antiquarian map authority, selected the maps and provided the commentary for the *Atlas of the American Revolution*, published by Rand McNally. Drawn by eye-witnesses of the events described, the fifty-four maps are reproduced in color. Bernard Romans's map (1776) of the southern British colonies delineates that region, and eleven maps describe (pp. 166-87) the battle activity in the South– Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia. The list of participants, a compendium account of the colonies, and an index, make this a valuable research volume. It is not only an atlas; the pictures and the detailed commentary by Don Higginbotham of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill add to the usefulness of this book. It sells for $35.00.

The First Constitution of the State of Louisiana was published for the Historic New Orleans Collection by Louisiana State University Press. In addition to facsimiles of the English and French documents, as printed in New Orleans in 1812, the work contains an interpretive essay by Dean Emeritus Cecil Morgan of Tulane University. The book sells for $10.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Florida Bicentennial Symposium

The Florida Bicentennial Commission will hold its fifth and final annual Bicentennial Symposium at the University of West Florida, Pensacola, March 19-20, 1976. The theme for this conference is "Eighteenth-Century Florida: Impact of the American Revolution." Participants include Theodore G. Corbett, J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University; J. Barton Starr, Troy State University at Fort Rucker; George C. Rogers, University of South Carolina; Michael V. Gannon, University of Florida; Kenneth Coleman, University of Georgia; Albert Manucy, St. Augustine; Thomas G. Ledford, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board; and Anna Eberly, National Park Service, McLean, Virginia.

The sessions will deal with East and West Florida at the time of the American Revolution, religion and population and family during the British and Second Spanish periods, and the buildings, house furnishings, implements and tools, armaments, and dress of the people during that period. On Friday evening, March 19, there will be a dinner in the Great Hall on the University of West Florida campus, followed by "An Evening at Chatauqua" in the University's Music Hall. The Chatauqua– music, interlude, and period pieces– will be presented by students and faculty of the University of West Florida. All sessions will be open to the public. For information and programs, write Dr. William A. Clauss, Division of Continuing Education, University of West Florida, Pensacola, Florida 32504.

Florida College Teachers of History Conference

The Florida College Teachers of History will hold its 1976 conference at the University of Florida, Gainesville, April 9-10. George E. Mowry, Kenan Professor of History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, will be the speaker at the banquet, Friday evening. Dr. William Adams, executive director of the Florida Bicentennial Commission, will describe Florida Bicentennial activities at the Saturday breakfast session, and former Governor LeRoy Collins will be the luncheon speaker.

Presenting papers are Theodore Hemmingway, Florida A.&M. University; Steven F. Lawson, Robert P. Ingalls, Louis A. Perez, James Ingalls, University of South Florida; Harry A. Kersey, Jr., Florida Atlantic University; José Kesselman, Florida International University; Whittington Johnson, University of Miami; Paula Scalingi, Tallahassee Community College; James W. Covington, University of Tampa; Eldon R. Turner, University of Florida; and Michael Smith, William A. Byrne, and J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University. All sessions will be held at the Flagler Inn. For information write Professors David R. Colburn or George Pozzetta, Department of Social Sciences, 352 Little Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville 32611.

Latin American Bicentennial Conference

The Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Florida will hold its twenty-sixth annual conference in Gainesville, Florida, March 1-2, 1976. Honoring the American Bicentennial, the general theme will be "The Florida Borderlands in the Age of the American Revolution." Papers will deal with the interaction of the Spanish historical presence, British colonial interests and practices, and the Anglo-American revolutionary movement and its impact on Florida. Many Florida historians will be presenting papers. For information, write Professor Lyle N. McAlister, Center for Latin American Studies, 319 Grinter Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32611.

State and Local History Awards

The American Association for State and Local History at its annual meeting on Mackinac Island, Michigan, in September, 1975, recognized a number of state and local history projects, agencies, and publications in the United States and Canada which had demonstrated superior achievement and quality. William M. Goza of Clearwater and Madison, and former president of the Florida Historical Society, was recognized with a Certificate of Commendation for "a lifetime of devotion to the cause of Florida history, its preservation and interpretation." The Historic Museum of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami, also received a Certificate of Commendation for "preserving and

interpreting the history of South Florida." The Indian Temple Mound Museum of Fort Walton Beach received an Award of Merit for "study and interpretation of Southeastern Indian culture." Presentation of these awards will be made at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Miami, May 7-8, 1976.

D. B. McKay Florida History Award

The Tampa Historical Society at its fifth annual dinner meeting, November 19, 1975, presented the D. B. McKay Award for Distinguished Contribution to Florida History to Gloria Jahoda of Tallahassee. The presentation was made by Hampton Dunn. He cited the work that Mrs. Jahoda has done in interpreting Florida history through her books which include, *The Other Florida*, *The Road to Samarkand*, and *The River of the Golden Ibis* (the Hillsborough River). She has written numerous magazine articles and is the author of a Bicentennial history of Florida to be published by the American Association for State and Local History.

Peace River Valley Florida History Award

Lawrence E. Will, formerly of Belle Glade, and now living in West Palm Beach, was the recipient of the Peace River Valley Historical Society Florida History Award for 1975. Known as the "cracker historian of the Everglades," Mr. Will is the author of six books relating to the area. He received the award at a luncheon given in his honor at Belle Glade.

Announcements and Activities

The Society of American Archivists has begun a comprehensive archival security program with grant support from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The theft of manuscript materials from archives and historical libraries has reached crisis proportion in the past few years. Plans call for establishing a registry of missing manuscripts by the spring of 1976. Later, a consultant service will make competent experts available to archival institutions to advise them in the areas of security sys-

tems, internal archival procedures, legal problems, and other aspects of archival security. An archival security manual will be published in 1977. For further information, write Timothy G. Walch, SAA Archival Security Program, Box 8198, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

The Kings Road Marker was presented to the City of Jacksonville on August 5, 1975 by the Jacksonville Historical Society, to be placed in Hemming Park. The marker reads: "The Kings Road– Florida's First Highway. From earliest times, Indian trails threaded throughout Florida following ridges, beaches, and river banks. Many of these trails were used by Spanish explorers and pioneers. Early in England's twenty-year ownership of Florida, 1763-1783, the Kings Road was built along old trails from St. Augustine to the St. Marys River and connected with British roads in Georgia. Southward the road extended to New Smyrna. This British road was the first highway in Florida, for unlike early trails, it was wide enough for wagons. A graded road with a ferry crossing at the Cow Ford on the St. Johns River, the Kings Road bisects the city today, approximating the route of U.S. Highway 1."

The Florida Genealogical Society dedicated the Bicentennial issue of the *Florida Genealogical Journal* to the surviving organizing members of the organization: Mrs. Walter P. Ames, Mrs. Grace Branch, Mrs. Claudia Hill, and Theodore Lesley. An index to the first ten years of the Journal is being compiled.

The *1976 Florida Historical Calendar* has been compiled by Dr. John A. Sullivan of Jacksonville University, and is available for sale from Commemorations Press Publishers, P.O. Box 8476, Jacksonville, Florida 32211. In addition to many pictures copied from those in Florida libraries and archives showing Florida scenes and personalities, some 1,000 Florida facts covering 500 years of Florida history have been included. There is also a detailed index that helps in the use of the factual material. The price is $3.95.

The first Southern Labor History Conference will be held at Georgia State University, Atlanta, April 1-3. For information,

write David B. Gracy II, Archivist, Georgia State University, Pullen Library, 104 Decatur Street, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

The Urban Studies program of the College of Charleston announces the publication of a new journal, *South Atlantic Urban Studies.* The editors, Steven Steinert and Jack R. Censer, are interested in contributions from those disciplines– political science, history, economics, sociology, social psychology, law, urban architecture– that presently constitute urban studies.

The University of Minnesota is compiling a guide to research materials on the history of women in the United States from the colonial period to the present. A survey is being made of all known sources of research materials, including state, county, and local historical. societies, and university, church, public, and business archives. Collections of personal and family papers and other records that pertain to women will be identified. The guide will contain descriptions of individual collections, and indexes will provide information by name, subject, and geographical area.

OBITUARY

Philip Stockton May

Philip Stockton May, a former president of the Florida Historical Society, died in Jacksonville in December 1975. A retired attorney and member of a pioneer Florida family, he had long been interested in Florida history. He was a charter member of the Jacksonville Historical Society and played an active role in that organization. He was elected president of the Florida Historical Society in April 1944, and he served a one-year term. He was particularly interested in the background and career of Zephaniah Kingsley, and he published an article on this subject in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. At one time Mr. May was the personal attorney for Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, the Pulitzer Prize winning Florida writer, and he represented her in the famous Cason *vs.* Rawlings invasion of privacy lawsuit in 1947.

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GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .
1976

Mar. 1-2	Twenty-Sixth Annual Latin American Studies Center Conference, "The Florida Borderlands in the Age of the American Revolution"	University of Florida, Gainesville
Mar. 18-20	Fifth Annual Florida Bicentennial Symposium, "Eighteenth-Century Florida: Impact of the American Revolution"	University of West Florida, Pensacola
Mar. 27	Florida Anthropological Society Meeting	Ft. Lauderdale
April 9-10	Florida College Teachers of History Conference	University of Florida, Gainesville
May 6	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies– Workshop	Miami
May 7-8	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 74th ANNUAL MEETING	Miami

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Jay B. Dobkin, Executive Secretary, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed also to Mr. Dobkin.